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Section A. Humanities

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SOME DRAWINGS BY GIPSY BOYS

By

Miss A. K. Minakshi,

[The following article does not propose to make any full study of primitive art. Even to make any generalised statements regarding the gipsy boys who are studied the data are far too insufficient. But many interesting points are indicated and the value of the article lies in suggesting topics for further research.—G.D.B.]

While making a study of about one thousand drawings made by the school children of the city, an attempt was made to find out whether there would be any fundamental differences in the drawings made by gipsy children who had never been to any school. So, more as an indication, than as a full study some pictures were collected from gipsy boys (Lambadis) camping near Saidapet. The ages of these boys ranged from 6 to 12.

The drawings were collected by going to the boys, in their own locality, so that they would feel quite at home. They were given quarter sheets of paper, and lead and colour pencils. Each of them was first asked to draw a house. When they had done this, they were given fresh sheets of paper and asked to draw a human figure (the vernacular word, which was used for the term human being denotes the male). This is probably the reason why they all drew only men). After these drawings were collected, papers for a third set of drawings were given and each was asked to draw anything he liked. After finishing these drawings, each boy was asked to explain, or name the various items and parts he had put in.

I. *Drawings of the house*:—Almost all the drawings were of the same pattern. The following is the description of a typical figure:—A horizontal line on the top to represent the roof and three vertical lines starting from this line going down to the bottom. These three lines divide the horizontal line into almost two equal parts, forming the two walls, and the middle one representing the opening of the house. It looks a typical hut or

a tent. In some cases there is a horizontal line at the bottom also, thus making an enclosure. In one case, though the hut is drawn in the same pattern, as the huts drawn by the other boys, inside and outside the hut are small imperfect circles representing, (according to the explanation of the subject), earthen pots and pans. Another drawing of a house looks like an Igloo with a projecting entrance.

The remarkable thing about these drawings is their *simplicity*, each case showing a hut-like structure without steps, lights, furniture or windows. Though these boys wander about in the streets and see houses and huge buildings, when it comes to drawing a house, they prefer to represent one like the hut in which they live. It is interesting to note here that a boy aged twelve found it necessary to show the pots and pans in his 'house', thrown about in a disorderly fashion. Probably it is a true picture of their living huts, where they actually have pots and pans scattered about the place.

II. Drawings of the human figure:—The gipsy boy draws his human figure in imperfect circles and straight lines. In most cases the legs and the hands start from the same point and the legs are disproportionately long. The neck is very rarely drawn. The clothing consists of a loin cloth and sometimes of a smaller strip of cloth to cover the genitals.

Special Characteristics:—There are certain striking features in some drawings which have never appeared in the normal school boys' drawings, though more than 1000 of the latter have been studied. (a) *Features of the face drawn outside the outline of the head*—3 drawings. Three boys of ages, 8, 8 and 12 respectively have drawn this type of figure. Head—an imperfect circle, with hair drawn in thick steady lines, looking like pikes, radiating outwards from the head; eyes, nose and mouth drawn outside the circle which represents the head, and are not clearly marked. They seem to be drawn in between the head and the legs, coming in the place where the neck ought to be. Neck and trunk are not shown in any of these three cases. Fig. 1 reproduces one of these pictures.

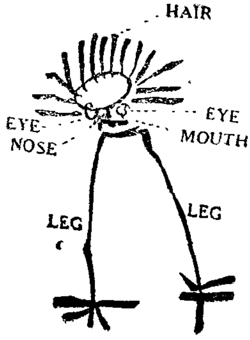


Figure 1

(b) *Limbs drawn unconnectedly in jumbles:*—Two boys of ages 6 and 8 represent their human figures in this strange manner. Head—a circle, with hair drawn like a triangle on it. A jumble of unconnected, idregular circles and triangles of varying sizes represent the different organs such as the ears, nose, mouth, face, legs hands and feet. In the centre there is a comparatively bigger triangle which represents the trunk. The lines are unsteady. Fig. 2 reproduces one of these.

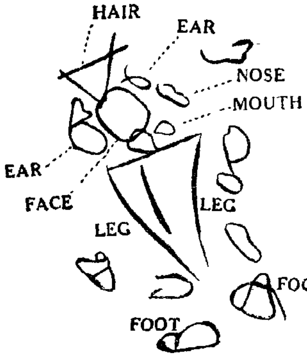


Figure 2

(c) *Human figures with their sex organs shown:*—Some boys of ages 6—11, have produced this kind of figures. Head—a small circle with three thick steady lines radiating outward from the head to represent the hair. Ears, eyes, nose, mouth, neck and hands are not shown. There is a long body which broadens towards the bottom. At the bottom there is a circle drawn touching the sides of the body. This was explained to be the loin cloth. The stumpy horizontal line jutting out of the loin cloth represent the legs with feet or toes. Two big dots just above and outside the circle representing the clothing were pointed out to be the sex organs. Another big dot in the middle of the trunk stands for the navel. The lines are thick and steady, drawn in green. There is no proportion of the limbs shown. Fig. 3 reproduces one of these pictures.

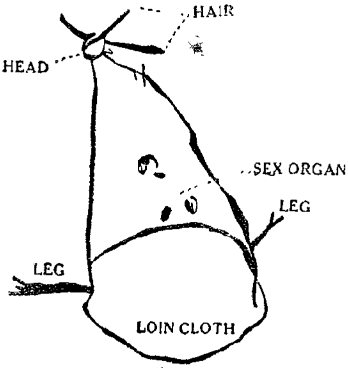


Figure 3

In most of the pictures the hair is indicated like pikes and gives a very crude and uncouth appearence to the human figure drawn. The school boys either do not draw hair on the head or if they do, the hair is combed down.

Though the men and women of the tribe decorate themselves with beads and coloured thread ornaments, no decorations have

appeared in their drawings of human figures. Probably even among them, ornaments are considered to be more proper for women only.

The types of clothing represented are typical of the wandering tribe, with just a loin cloth or a strip of cloth. Though they see and live with people who are dressed in more complex attire, they draw only the sort of clothes with which they are familiar.

Indications of sex organs—It is interesting to note that whereas the gipsy boys indicate the sex organs in their drawings, not a single picture of the human being (out of about 1000) drawn by the normal school children indicated them. The reasons perhaps are not far to seek. These boys as well as their adults go about with little or minimum clothing. Further, the whole community freely talks about sex matters and there is a minimum of repression arising from social conventions. Consequently they may be considered as natural organs, just as much as the hands or the eyes. On the other hand, it may not be proper to ascribe an over-consciousness of sex to these gipsy boys. Years ago Doctor E. Von Sydow attempted to show "a sexual background to the art of the primitive people". Freudians also have worked along the same lines. But many authropologists have questioned this over-emphasis of sex consciousness in primitive men. There is more truth in the following statement of Adams who has done a good deal of work on primitive art. "Most primitive men do not regard any part of the body as indecent. The genital organs are considered as natural emblems of sex, and their representation in sculpture and drawings has nothing to do with obscenity".

[It is a characteristic feature of children's drawings that they often portray not what they see but what they know to be there. Most children pass through such a stage called by Verworn the *"Idioplastic Stage"*. And our normal school children have many other drawings of this type; for example, in drawing houses, they put in furniture and other things as seen through the wall. But because of training and convention they do not represent the sex organs of human figures.]

Putting the facial features outside the outline of the head, and limbs drawn unconnectedly in jumbles show that the children are aware of the fact that the human being has certain features and organs, but do not have a connected idea of things.

Such pictures raise a number of questions. Firstly, it is significant to note that no such picture has been obtained from the normal school children. Obviously, there is a lack of integration and the concept of other selves has not yet developed in the minds of these gipsy boys. The question arises whether such pictures indicate a natural stage in the development of some at least of normal children. It is difficult to give any precise answer, but there is evidence in the work of some psychologists which countenances an affirmative answer. Herbert Read, in his book, *"Education through art"* produces (plate 5 B) a picture drawn by a five-year-old girl which invites comparison with the material studied by the present writer.

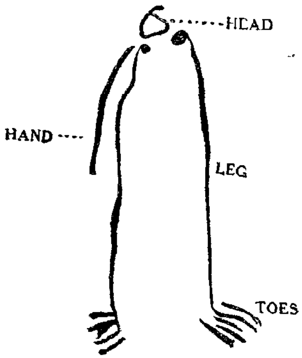


Figure 4

Also, the collection of graphic representation of a man, by four year old children studied by Pearl Farwell Gridley (*Genetic Psychology Monograph* Vol. 20, page 187 A, 1938) contains one or two pictures resembling this type. Lark Horovitz has shown (*Journal of Experimental Education,* 1941, 9, 346 to 360) that the drawings of the younger children are almost entirely schematic. Of the normal school children studied by the present writer only a few are of the 5 year age group and all the rest are older. So it is possible that if large numbers of drawings of the human figures are collected from children below five, we may get more such examples. Such pictures belong to the category called *Enumerative* by Herbert Read, and *Type descriptture* by Binet which is "content with a pure and bald description of the details of the object, without even seeking to grasp their significance much less their relation or the meaning of their collocation". It is a stage which is characterised by an intellectual activity divorced from any feeling for relationships or wholeness and therefore from any introspective reaction. According to Herbert Read, such pictures indicate more the type of personality of the artist than a stage through which some children at least pass. For obvious reasons a full discussion of these points cannot be attempted here. There is one picture with only one hand (the right one) shown and without the trunk or facial features. (See Fig 4). Two long lines indicating the legs and at the bottom several small lines showing the toes are also drawn. Representing only one hand, (often the hand used in some activity)

is a common characteristic of drawings by normal children. Probably such drawings represent the haptic perceptual type. The long legs and toes also support such a view.

A fascinating problem is suggested by the possible correlation of drawing ability with the mental age of the children studied. Good enough, in her book *"Measurements of intellegence by Drawings"*, has shown that such a study is possible. D. T. Spoerl on the basis of his researches (*Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1940, 57) maintains that not only does drawing ability increase somewhat with mental age but that some retarded children draw somewhat better than normal children. Cyril Burt in his *"The Backward Child"* draws our attention to the fact that backward children do not show the same inferiority in practical subjects as in more academic subjects. J. Duncan in his *"Mental Deficiency"* (Walts & Co., 1938) pictures dulness as an all-round but an unequal inferiority. It is difficult to say what proportion of the gipsy children studied by the present writer can be classed as "backward".

III. Drawings of free choice:—The following objects are represented in this set of drawings :—

Tamarind trees, scorpions, palm trees, bull, fox, elephant, cow, Japanese ship and lotus bud.

Description of some of the pictures:—

1. *Tamarind tree*:—A short tree with trunk drawn in single line. Many irregular lines on the top giving the look of an open umbrella represent the top of the tree and the foliage. Bunches of fruits are hanging distinctly outside and almost touching the ground. Some fruits are on the top within the foliage.

2. *Fox*:—A small circle with ears and eyes represent the head. The body, legs and tail are represented in single lines. Toes, nails and hair on the tail are distinctly shown (things of their interest). The erect tail suggests a running posture. (6 years).

3. *Elephant*:—A tiny figure in one corner of the paper, leaving almost the entire paper free. (12 years).

4. *Cow*:—The head and the neck are merged into the body. Has two prominent horns. The eyes and the ears are not drawn clearly (features incomplete). The tail suggests a running cow and it is very prominent. The proportion of the body is good. (8 years).

The gipsy boys draw things which they come across in their daily lives, which interest them, either due to fear or due to pleasant associations. The scorpions, snakes and bulls which are their enemies and pests form subjects for their drawings. Then come the Tamarind and the Palmyra trees which give them shade and provide their delicacies. Baldwin Brown in "*The art of the cave dweller*" states that the hunter artist shows definite preference to drawings of animals in various postures. In one particular cave 109 figures of animals were discovered by him. The animals portrayed are always those desirable for food or those that are dangerous to their lives. The cave men's figures of animals like those of the gipsy boys, studied here are with clearly marked horns, hooves, "alive and individual, possessed of character and nobility". The primitive artist, like the gipsy boy does not care for syntax or for the means of building up the simplest possible sentence. "All that is primitive is deeply and strongly built but artistically speaking beggarly poor". It is to be noted that none of the normal children who were studied drew any fox, bull or scorption.

Though few in number, these pictures drawn by the gipsy boys corroborate many general observations made by psychologists who have sudied childrens' drawings both extensively and intensively. Both in the drawings of the house and of the human being, we find a 'schema' common to these boys, as has been found by other investigators. Of course the contents and the complexity or the simplicity of the schema vary from group to group and also from age to age. This has been found to be so by the present writer as well in her more extensive studies of other drawings.

We have already observed that all these gipsy boys preferred to draw only simple huts for house! The normal school children have drawn houses more or less resembling their own houses in details. The wish for something bigger or better does not seem to operate very strongly at certain stages. It has also been observed that the gipsy boys indicated only the simple type of dress with which they are familiar. In the drawings of animals, though indifferent to many of the details, those which have an *emotional value* for them have been faithfully represented. Eg. In the picture of the fox, the nails are clearly represented with remarkable accuracy with regard to shape and position, though the picture is very poor in other details. In one picture, a Palm tree is represented with a fallen dried leaf on the ground. (The gipsies mostly depend upon such things for their fire-wood). All these factors strongly corroborate the statement of Dr. Samuel Lowy regarding the formation and development of concepts. He says, "Our ideas

are not only thought, but also felt, experienced. This affective component is the contribution of the 'living ego' to the photographic image of the external impression, and constitutes in general a constant counterpart of the 'lifeless' concept. Every event, every experience, every representation of an external object and person, exerts a formative influence on the individual Psychic life only in so far as it occasions in us 'affects' of various qualities and quantities. Not the concepts and not the impressions of the external world in their objectivity, but the affective values associated with and realised by them, becoming functioning factors of our Psychic. These affective counterparts of our concepts—the result of the complex ego—attitude to the external world and to all perceptions in general—make their external impressions properly *our very* own, they determine the exact dispositions of concepts, images and ideas in us; these affective counterparts constitute the cement which binds the association links together; they are responsible for both the quality and the intensity of the influence, externally exerted by individual Psychic elements on the totality of our thinking and acting". (*Foundation of Dream. Interpretation*—Kegan Paul 1942—P. 819 quoted by Herbert Read op. cit.).

It may not be out of place to mention here some other general characteristics about these pictures. The boys drew very quickly, without any hesitation, without taking much time to decide upon the subject of their drawings in the case of the free choice picture, neither did they show any special difficulty in handling pencils. On the given sheets of paper, in most cases, the children drew in the centre instead of choosing a corner. In most cases the objects drawn suggest motion and the emphasis is on the feet or legs or the erect tail.

When aspects like the amount of space used, the steadiness of the lines, the kind of details represented etc., are studied, these pictures readily submit themselves to an analysis of the personality types of these young boys. When sufficiently large number of such drawings are investigated, perhaps we may be in a position to discuss also the thesis put forth by Lowenfield that the distinction between visual and haptic perception is of universal validity. But because of the insufficiency of the data by way of number and intimate personal knowledge of the boys, such analysis and discussion cannot be attempted here.

THE RATIONALE OF ECONOMIC CONTROLS

By

R. Balakrishna

Free Economy and Controls.—The system of private enterprise has so largely governed the economic activities of democratic countries that a regular code of unwritten laws has been accepted regarding its operation. No doubt it has been enabled to function on account of the peculiar legal framework in which it has flourished, namely the system of private property and freedom of contract. But the type of economic organization that has developed against this background has gone, in its ramifications, far beyond the competence of the original legal props involving sometimes further legislation for its maintenance. In fine, while private enterprise or the capitalistic structure, as it is called, is nowhere legally recognized as a mechanism for operating our economy, it is everywhere enabled to function smoothly by creating a suitable environment even by means of legislation. This is because of the faith in its efficiency in spite of its ostensibly unorganized character.

The basic assumptions of a system of free private enterprise are the rights of ownership and disposal of natural resources in a manner conducive to individual interest. As a corollary, individuals enjoy the freedom of organising and conducting a business in any way that is likely to improve their own interests. It also follows that as consumers they have absolute freedom of choice. The mechanics of operation of such an economic system consist in a high degree of mobility of factors of production seeking profitable employment with a full knowledge of alternative opportunities. Similarly the consumers are supposed to be aware of the whole range of products with a knowledge of their relative prices and qualities Under such a system of free competition individuals are unable to influence prices except under exceptional circumstances when a monopoly is likely to emerge. The allocation of resources under the system is not only automatic but scientific, being impelled by the profit motive which regulates in conformity with consumers' choice as indicated by the range of prices. As for technique, the most efficient would always prevail, the others being eliminated by competitive rivalry.

There has been a gradual weakening in the faith imposed in the perfection of the system due largely to economic complexities arising out of technological and organizational changes in the methods of production, such as an increase in the size of the business unit. Besides the faith has also been rudely shaken by recurrent periods of depression and the endemic form of unemployment generally prevalent under the capitalistic regime. This has given rise to a lack of confidence in the system both on economic and on moral grounds. From the economic standpoint it is doubtful if the actual operation of the system conforms to its basic assumptions. As a matter of fact all buyers and sellers have never had a full knowledge of the various alternatives available to them.[1] Even the mobility of factors has never been perfect being impeded by the large size of production units and the consequent inability of a new unit to enter business. From the moral standpoint the equity of the type of distribution that results from a system of free private enterprise is questionable. In terms of social values the distributive justice of economic liberalism is of doubtful validity. The system of distribution of national wealth is largely conditioned by the essential factors of the economy that has been evolved and since the economy has manifested a fundamental weakness in this respect it stands in need of correction. It is also necessary to point out that the system of private enterprise is incapable of achieving any social ideals, such as full employment or a national minimum, as the profit motive may not always square with welfare concepts. Therefore, with a shift of emphasis to problems of welfare the inherent weaknesses and the unsuitability of the existing economy is being more and more felt.

Such imperfections in the operation of the machinery would naturally give rise to certain aberrations which might get exaggerated during periods of stress. Consequently the intervention of an external agency to bring under control any morbid developments of the economy appears incumbent. Normally the occasion for intervention by the State arises out of wider social considerations which are not always within the purview of private enterprise being essentially actuated by profit motive. Certain public utility services which are of great social importance may not be provided at all if left to individual decisions. So the State

1. *Government and Economic Life* by Leverett S. Lyon and others, p. 27.

has perforce to undertake the provision of such services as an adjunct to the capitalistic economy. The same social considerations may also necessitate an intervention in the exclusive sphere of private enterprise curtailing individual action in the interest of certain sections of the community. These are in the nature of peace time controls applied as correctives to the capitalistic economy. For instance, labour legislation, pure food laws and anti-trust legislation are forms of peace time controls, however normal may be the state of the economy. Thus controls have actually been recognized and accepted as part of the general make-up of the capitalistic system even during peace being necessitated by certain deficiencies in its functioning. During periods of stress, such as a depression, controls of a higher order have been introduced in order to supplement and strengthen the economy in certain directions where it has failed to act effectively and resulting thereby in certain aberrations. The National Recovery Administration in the U.S.A., the Agricultural Marketing Act in the United Kingdom and the various forms of exchange control in Europe are instances of such depression controls. It is therefore obvious that economic controls are not necessarily of war-time origin. They are the outcome of the inherent weaknesses of the capitalistic regime. But wartime controls have a special significance and are not entirely attributable to the shortcomings of a system of private enterprise, a detailed examination of which may be deferred for a while. What is germane to the issue at this juncture is an inquiry into the reaction of such peace-time controls on the structure of capitalism. The complexion of capitalism has not undergone any radical change as a result of such controls. They are more in the nature of safety valves to render innocuous the ravages of the profit motive of private enterprise. Sometimes they are also in the nature of correctives of any morbid development of the economy undermining social values. Therefore even though technically they nullify some of the assumptions of private enterprise, still the complexion remains untainted by the emergence of peace time and depression controls. No doubt such controls negative the existence of *Laissez Faire* as conceived by the Classical Economists, but capitalism in all its broad features continues to operate. The degree of regulation is not so great as to substantially checkmate individual freedom.

Nature of Wartime Controls.—During a war period economic controls assume a new significance. In a highly mechanized global war like the present one, economic mobilization is a necessary

condition of success. So new forces begin to influence the economy disturbing the normal equilibrium of the supply-demand position. A new demand factor in the form of war requirements appears on the arena with a claim of high priority on the resources of the country. This entails a diversion of resources from civilian to war purposes, while the normal civilian demand is assumed to remain constant. Further, a conservation and a more intensive exploitation of resources becomes necessary as the war demand is relatively more pressing and insatiable. Immediately scarcities of various forms make their appearance, such as plant and equipment, labour and raw materials, etc. The economy of free enterprise is incapable of self adjustment to the new situation. If it is left to profit motive the adjustment would be long drawn and painful, and would entail a competitive bidding between the government and private consumers. Besides a gearing up of the economic activity for war needs and a restriction of civilian demand would not be within reach. Therefore the rationale of Economic Controls during a war is to ensure such equipoise as is possible under the abnormal situation and to gear up production.

Controls emerge in various forms and the resulting pattern is not uniform in all countries. They begin piecemeal at the outset but soon assume an all embracing character as each of them gives rise to others. Broadly speaking, there are four types of control, namely, Production control, Consumption control, Price control and Trade control. The objective of Production control is to ensure a quick and successful conversion of a peace economy to a war economy. Almost all phases of production where bottlenecks are encountered have to be subjected to some form of control. A deficiency of plant and equipment is the primary shortage to be overcome under mobilization and therefore by means of standardization of production and the prohibition of certain types of manufacture the demand for machine tools is reduced. Production is also concentrated in "Nucleus Firms", in order to maintain optimum output, and at the same time release plant and acquire storing space. The control of raw materials is most general and far reaching on account of the scarcity created in them due to the disruption of international trade and the heavy demand for the production of war materials. The control assumes the forms of conservation and further exploitation by means of an increase of domestic production. Conservation consists of a prohibition of certain types of manufacture which compete for scarce resources and raw materials and a rationing of raw materials for essential

purposes to avoid bidding up of domestic prices. In addition, measures to eliminate waste and salvage scrap materials are also applied. Control of power resources like coal and electricity is also a part of the general scheme of production control.

Labour scarcity, both quantitative and qualitative, is the next deficiency impeding industrial mobilization. During a war, labour supply gets depleted through the mobilization of armed forces and a relative scarcity is also created by a transfer of workers from non-essential to essential occupations. At the same time the demand, particularly for skilled labour, is ever on the increase. So control measures of various types are necessary to equate supply to demand. "Stretching" of labour supply is one of the devices by means of which the existing labour supply through multiple shifts is made to go a longer way. "Dilution" and transfer is another method by means of which skilled labour is utilized for the most appropriate purpose.[2] Wherever skilled labour is superfluous it is diluted by the substitution of unskilled labour. So the State through labour control, determines the number and the kind of workers that each establishment can employ so that the proportion of skilled and unskilled workers can be regulated in each firm. Next, labour disputes are brought under control because they entail a loss of working time and a waste of plant capacity. They also cause a cumulative decrease of final output through an interruption of vital supplies. Lastly, through vocational training the supply of skilled labour is increased.

The control of consumption is a necessary corollary of the shortage in civilian goods created by a diversion of resources to war purposes. To maintain the civilian morale an equitable distribution of consumers' goods and the satisfaction of their minimum physiological requirements is necessary. Hence consumption control now constitutes an integral part of war economy. It takes the form of rationing in the case of necessities like food supplies. In the case of other consumers' goods there is either a prohibition of manufacture and sale or a discriminating price policy in the case of luxuries. Sometimes a lowering of the quality through admixtures is also attempted. In short to establish a new supply-demand position the pre-war demand is brought under control to reduce its reaction on the artificial state of economy which has been engendered by the war.

2 World Economic Survey—League of Nations, 1939-41, Ch. II.

Price control is perhaps the most far reaching among economic controls during a war, as it impinges on the efficient operation of the entire economic machinery. High prices are caused by a scarcity of goods on the one hand and an inflation of currency on the other. Unless they are kept in check by indirect and direct means they would jeopardise the whole economy. Anti-inflationary measures embodied in the fiscal and financial policy of the government are the indirect methods of keeping the rise of prices in check. In addition direct measures for restricting and retarding the rise of prices are also applied. The fixation of specific prices, the establishment of 'ceilings' or maximum prices, and the prescription of certain price relationships between costs and selling prices are some of the methods of price control. In all these measures the objective is not to prevent altogether a price increase but only to bring it under official control, as otherwise it would stifle the incentive for efficiency and increase in output. Sometimes a price increase is also encouraged to stimulate production, particularly in the case of food crops. As auxiliary measures of price control speculation in the form of forward buying and a "flight into commodities" through hoarding are penalised. Lastly, a drastic check on demand is essential to render price control effective.

Trade control consists of restrictions on imports and exports. This may be given effect to either through a control of foreign exchanges or by means of a direct prohibition of exports and imports. The objective is two-fold, namely to conserve the limited shipping space and foreign exchanges available, and to restrict the outlet of essential scarce materials necessary for the furtherance of war effort. So the peculiar demands of the war economy do not warrant absolute freedom in matters of foreign trade. These restrictions do not mean a closed economy but they only imply regulated trade on the basis of a predetermined system of priorities.

The foregoing brief description of the types of economic control during a period of war indicates the high degree of correlation that exists among them. They are closely related to each other and the setting up of any one of them involves the creation of others. Raw material control will not be effective without a control of exports and imports. If price control is to be effective demand should be restricted through rationing and priorities; otherwise black markets will come into existence. Similarly if consumption control is to operate efficiently there should be a

control over production and a scientific method of procurement. Thus a most thoroughgoing system of controls is likely to evolve itself when once a beginning has been made in that direction. In fact it is out of particular priorities that a general system of priorities for war materials, machinery and labour develops, and it is out of specific controls that far-reaching measures of general control for rationalizing production emerge.

So then, war-time economic controls are by nature more comprehensive and give a new complexion to the system of private enterprise. At their most crucial points the normal incentives of a capitalistic mechanism are deprived of their force. The free competitive market for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of goods disappears. Conditions of employment and the nature of products are strictly regulated. Even the margins of profit are determined in conformity with certain standards of efficiency expected in different occupations. All these restrictions on the individualistic freedom of action are no doubt coercively imposed, but it must be a matter for intelligent speculation that it has not invoked sufficient resentment in the business community. The reason for this appears to be a frank recognition by private industry of the complexities of the new situation and the inherent weaknesses of the capitalistic economy to cope with it. Besides the greater the international interdependence the more vulnerable a nation becomes on the economic side during an abnormal period like a war. Therefore the authority of the State is not resented and the enlistment of the voluntary co-operation of private industry becomes feasible for the purpose. The orthodox conception of capitalism no doubt suffers some mutilation, but with a changing environment adaptations of the old model of economy become incumbent. But still individual freedom, though in a limited sphere, plays an important part and entitles the present economy to be called capitalistic. It may be better known as controlled capitalism. Its complexion in the future depends upon the process of decontrol, a consideration of which is deferred to a later section.

Controls in India.—At the outbreak of the war India did not have a well-knit and comprehensive plan of economic controls. She has proceeded by improvising measures according as particular problems have arisen from time to time. This is true of most of the United Nations. Even Canada which has now a fairly comprehensive system of controls, provided only for regular and adequate civilian supplies during the first two years of war. It is only later due to a rise in prices that she imposed severe con-

trols. Excepting Germany and Italy none of the other belligerents launched on the war with a full-fledged system of controls.

In the case of India there were two compelling factors for the introduction of controls, namely, scarcities and inflation. The problem of scarcities was acute because of the relatively undeveloped industrial condition of the country and its dependence on foreign imports. The severe demands made by war on its economic potentialities and the simultaneous cessation of imports revealed the extreme paucity of its resources. In the sphere of raw materials there was an absolute scarcity in several directions even when judged from peace-time standards. With regard to consumers' goods India depended to a considerable extent on foreign imports and the war not only shut them out but expected Indian industry to export to the countries of the Middle East and cater to the armies stationed in India. A severe curtailment of consumers' demand and an equitable apportionment of the available supply therefore became necessary. In the face of such scarcities India has had the worst form of inflation to accentuate the situation still further. So the essential preoccupation of the Government of India in the application of its controls has been to bring about an equitable distribution of the available supplies and to keep the rise of prices under reasonable control. All other measures are ancillary to these two main objectives. For instance, the control of capital issues is designed to reduce the demand for the scarce raw materials and the control over foreign trade is to rationalize imports with a view to discourage the inflow of non-essential goods.

So the commodity controls in India may be considered under two sections, namely raw materials and consumers' goods including food products. Raw materials like iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, imported chemicals, rubber, newsprint, and raw films are subjected to severe control. Their distribution and utilization are strictly regulated by the Government. In the case of most of the raw materials which are of local origin control measures are always associated with a drive for expansion. This is because in the case of raw materials the twin objectives are a diversion into particular channels and a gearing up of production to further the war effort.

In the case of food products the chief concern of the State has been an equitable distribution of the available supplies at a fair price. But all food products in India are not amenable to such measures. For instance, the production and distribution of rice is so widespread that it is not amenable to any comprehensive control.

Through the Food Grains Control Order the movements of rice have been regulated, but price fixation and procurement bristle with difficulties.[3] Due to innumerable varieties fixation of fair prices is not easy and due to the extensive and disorganized character of its marketing, procurement becomes difficult. Sugar, on the other hand, is more amenable to control due to the localized character of the production units. In the case of sugar the task before the State was to secure maximum production, to rationalize transport and to devise a distributive mechanism.[4] A fairly efficient system of distribution has been arranged even though the normal channels of trade have been completely circumvented, and the transport has been very satisfactorily arranged by the controller. It has however failed to induce maximum production. These two instances show the immensity of the food problem in a sub-continent like India. The difficulties of control increase proportionately with the size of the country.

The control of cloth commenced in 1943 with the issue of the Cotton Cloth and Yarn (Control) Order. The high prices of cloth in that year and its anti-social implications compelled the State to bring it under control. But the actual measures of control were not to be based on bureaucratic decisions. By mutual agreement it was decided to leave the industry to control itself.[5] This was feasible on account of the organized character of the industry and the ready co-operation that was forthcoming. It is a special feature of cloth control and is similar in some respects to the control of jute through the medium of a powerful body like the Jute Mills Association. The mechanism of cloth control consists of the Textile Control Board and the Textile Commissioner. The measures of control consist of a declaration of stocks and their disposal within a particular time. Prices are fixed in such a manner as to enable even the least efficient firm to contribute its quota. An increase in output has also been effected through multiple shifts in spite of labour difficulty and high depreciation of plant.

It is obvious from the foregoing that commodity control and price control have run parallel to each other and are the crux of the problem of controls in the country. The others are auxiliary

3. *Eastern Economist*, September 17, 1943 Control in Rcie Trade.
4. *Ibid, September* 24, 1943. Sugar Control.
5. *Ibid, October* 22, 1943. Cloth Control.

measures to achieve the above objectives. Wherever severe bottlenecks were encountered, as in the case of machine tools and skilled labour, special control orders have been enunciated to conserve them and to increase their supply. Import and Export Control is designed on the basis of priorities for various industries determined according to their relative urgency for war needs. The control on Capital Issues is for the conservation of scarce raw materials and plant for essential purposes. Among other auxiliary measures may be mentioned the anti-hoarding and profiteering act which has been passed to enable the successful operation of price control.

On a comparison of controls abroad with those in India it is found that certain aspects of the mechanism of controls have not received sufficient emphasis in our country. The system of subsidization has had the greatest application in the United Kingdom. During the twelve months preceeding March 1941 the cost of the subsidies on bread, milk and bacon alone came up to £100 m.[6] Later it was decided to stabilize through subsidization the cost of living index as a whole so as to cover all items except wages. This process could have been more widely applied in India with reference to foodgrains. An adequate price should have been paid to the grower to encourage production and through subsidization it could have been sold at a suitable price to the consumer. In the U.S.A. business has been asked to absorb cost increases up to a point where profits are at a reasonable level. Similar inquiries might have been made in India into profit margins to render price control more scientific. In Canada, with regard to civilian production and supplies, there has been a great reduction in the range and variety of consumers' goods.[7] This is a vital part of the price control set up, but in India not much has been achieved in this direction except for the attempt at the introduction of standard cloth.

However, the measures of war-time controls in India are far-reaching in their influence even though the mechanism might not have been carried to its logical perfection. Capitalism during the years of war has been functioning in a new sphere of restrictions and regulations. Nevertheless it has not suffered in its efficiency.

6. World Economic Survey: Price Control, p. 118

7 *Commerce and Industry*: 1943. Economic Controls Supplement: Dominion of Canada.

Judged from the standpoint of quantitative expansion of output Indian industry has reached its high water-mark of production during this war. So the original untried assumption that free private enterprise is the *sine quo non* of economic success has been falsified. A system of regulated capitalism seems to yield better results, in an emergency, than the uncoordinated decisions of a multitude which is the essence of economic liberalism. Naturally this new experience makes us wonder whether it would not be wise, in the interest of efficiency, to subject capitalism to such controls even after the abnormal situation created by the war disappears. An answer to that depends on the implications of the process of decontrol.

Process of Decontrol.—It is a foregone conclusion that there can be no immediate withdrawal of controls when the war ends. The transitional phase has to be smoothened by making the process of decontrol as gradual as possible. However much a government may be an unwelcome intruder in private business, its precipitate departure is fraught with more dangerous consequences. So even private industry may prevail upon government to continue the controls until such time that normal conditions are once again revived.[8] They should be made to disappear imperceptibly if the objective is to recede once again to pre-war conditions. Besides, it is also an administrative responsibility of the State to relax their grip on industry very gradually. However, these transitional tactics in the policy of official control do not exhaust the full implications of the potential utility of economic controls for post-war reorganization. What is more important than the necessity of controls during the transitional period is the permanent place that they are likely to assume in the future capitalistic economy of democratic countries. A recapitulation of the ineffectiveness of capitalistic economy for achieving certain social ideals discussed in the earlier part of this paper will make it clear that some of the objectives of national planning are beyond the competence of private enterprise for their fulfilment. So we could reasonably visualise the continuance of economic controls even under a long-range plan of reconstruction in order to implement the capitalistic economy. The exact form that they should assume and the purposes they are likely to serve are matters requiring clear thinking.

8. *Indian Finance*, October 7, 1944, p. 477.

An application of controls over peace-time industry requires a greater degree of circumspection than their prevalence under war conditions. It will involve a permanent change in the economic structure and we have to appraise its repercussions. There is no sanctity about any particular structure, but unless the policy impelling a change in structure is sufficiently lofty the change is not worthwhile. Therefore, a definite realisation of the special objectives to be achieved by an introduction of permanent controls in a system of private enterprise is absolutely essential. Among various points for clarification we may emphasise a few. Firstly, in every case the limits of control should be clearly set and secondly, its purposes should be no less clearly realised. And thirdly, to match every negative control the State should try to provide a positive assistance.[9] In all these respects peacetime policy is *fundamentally different* from war objectives. The targets of national development are the guiding factors and attempts to reach them would at once reveal the relative, though not absolute, scarcities of various factors of production. It is only through measures of control that such disparities could be harmonized and the targets of national development achieved. It is a realization of this fact that has impelled the Bombay Planners to an advocacy of controls for the fulfilment of their high objectives of post-war reconstruction.[10] The future India therefore is bound to have a large share of official controls as a part of its permanent machinery of economic organization.

The war has now ended and we are on the eve of great changes in the institutional framework of our society. Corresponding to this, a change in outlook and attitude of mind is equally important. Old ideas should give room to new. Old ideologies and terminologies should undergo a radical change. Capitalism and Socialism should no longer take opposing stands. Old concepts may remain, but with a new connotation. Capitalism may remain, but will be made to function in a new sphere of restrictions and controls. In fine a new civilization is in sight.

9. *The Economist*, July 22, 1944, p. 104.
10. A Plan of Economic Development for India, Part II, p. 24.

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS[1]

Their Organization and Administration

BY

V. VENKATA RAO

The efficiency of administrative organization depends upon several factors. They are firstly, the existence of an enlightened electorate; secondly, councillors possessing public spirit, wisdom, integrity and imagination; thirdly, a scientific constitutional structure and lastly a municipal service whose efficiency must be high and whose integrity unquestioned. We are concerned in this paper with the second and third conditions.

Historical Background.—Municipal Councils are the creatures of the Provincial Government. Their powers, their area, their size, their term of office, their structure and their electorate are all determined by the Provincial Government. In short, they function within the four corners of Act V of 1920.

Municipal Councils were first established by Act XXVI of 1850.[2] The distinguishing feature of the Act was that its provisions could be extended to any locality provided the inhabitants desired its introduction. The councils consisted of the District Magistrate and a few nominated councillors. The Act of 1850 did not work satisfactorily, because its introduction depended upon the consent of the inhabitants of the locality concerned. Therefore it was

1. Municipal councils are essentially administrative organizations. They are created for the management of functions enumerated by the Act. They have only delegated authority. Therefore a municipal council is merely a company of men entrusted with the management of municipal functions As a matter of fact they were first established to satisfy administrative needs. "The task of administration" says the famous resolution of Lord Ripon on Local Self-Government "is yearly becoming more and more onerous as the *country progresses in civilization and material prosperity*". The only plan open to Lord Ripon to overcome the administrative difficulties was the establishment of local authorities and induce the people to undertake the management of their own affairs. Ruthnaswamy. Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India pp. 561

2. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency. 1885. Vol. 1.

repealed and the Town Improvements Act of 1865 was enacted. The discretion to extend the provisions of the Act was vested in the Provincial Government. The *Councils* consisted of three ex-officio members, the District Magistrate, the Local Magistrate and the Range Officer of the Public Works Department. The District Magistrate was the President of the Council. He appointed the Vice-President. Besides these ex-officio members five more persons were nominated by the Provincial Government. They held office for a period of one year. Immediately after this Act was brought into operation the need for its revision arose. The Act was therefore repealed by Act X of 1871. Under this Act the Councils consisted of two ex-officio members, the District Magistrate and the Revenue Divisional Officer. In addition to these ex-officio members three more persons were nominated by the Government. The Vice-President was either elected by the Council, where that right was conceded to the council,[3] or appointed by the District Magistrate.

The fourth Act was that of 1884. This Act conceded the principle of election of Municipal Councillors. It abolished the ex-officio element and the councils were given the right of electing their own chairmen with the previous sanction of the Governor-in Council.

Types of Councils.—Since 1920 two types of Councils came into existence, viz, the 'Chairman and the Council' type and the 'Commissioner' type. The primary basis for this classification is the way in which the executive and the deliberative functions are divided and combined. Under the 'Chairman and the Council type', all the executive and deliberative functions are concentrated in the chairman and the council. The Chairman is both the initiator and executor of policy. Under the Commissioner type, all the executive functions are concentrated in the Executive Officer and the deliberative functions in the council. The former type existed in the district municipalities during the period of 1920-33. Since 1933 we are having the Commissioner type.

The Size of Councils.[4]—The size of councils depends upon population. The Provincial Government fixes the strength of each council. At present the size of each council is as follows.

3 G.O. No. 609, 9th May, 1871.
4. G.O. No. 3453. L.A. 16—11—1942.

Municipalities with population. (1)	No. of Municipalities with population mentioned in Column 1. (2)	No. of seats fixed for each council mentioned in Column 2. (3)
Not-exceeding 20,000	24	16
Exceeding 20,000 but not 30,000	21	20
„ 30,000 „ 40,000	11	24
„ 40,000 „ 50,000	6	28
„ 50,000 „ 100,000	16	32
„ 100,000 „	4	36

The minimum strength of a council is 16 and the maximum is 36. The size of the councils is moderate. The present day tendency is to have smaller councils. The New York charter for instance, which came into force on the 1st January 1938 provided a much smaller council than heretofore. Every 75,000 voters are given the right to elect one councillor and the size of the council is not expected to go beyond 40. In the Irish Free State the size of two councils has been reduced to 21.[5]

Composition of the Councils.—The Municipal Councils, till 1930, were composed partly of elected and partly of nominated councillors. The nominated element was retained on the ground that it would be impossible to create an electorate for the minority communities like the Muslims and the depressed classes for some time to come and that it would, therefore, be unjust to force them to enter the councils through the elective door.[6] With a view to secure proper representation for the minority communities the nominated element was retained subject to the condition that it should not exceed one fourth of the total strength of the council.

The procedure adopted before nominating a person to a council was to consult the Collector of the district who in turn was required to consult the Chairman of the Council concerned. The Government, however, had the discretion to accept or reject the recommendations of the Collector. At times Government nominated persons without consulting the Collector concerned.[7]

5 Harris. Municipal Self-Government in Britain. p. 36.
6 Speech of Mr. (now Sir) Md. Habibullah, M.L.C.P., 1920, p. 509.
7. M.L.C.P, Vol. 27. Q. 1234.

How did this provision work ? Even though the intention of the framers of Act V of 1920 was to utilise this provision for securing proper representation of the minority communities, in practice the Provincial Government, actuated by political and other considerations, nominated the following classes of persons.

Firstly, members of the Madras Legislative Council like Dewan Bahadur B. Muniswamy Naidu[8] and Mr. (later Sir) S. Kumaraswamy Reddiar[9] who subsequently became Ministers, belonging to the Ministerial party and not belonging to any minority community were nominated to the Chittoor and Palamcottah Municipal Councils respectively Mr. Abbas Ali Khan who subsequently became the Chief Presidency Magistrate was nominated to the Madura Municipal Council, even though Muslims were already sufficiently represented on that council.[10] The Panagal Ministry nominated eight members of the first Legislative Council under dyarchy as Municipal Councillors.[11] The Subbaroyan Ministry nominated 14 legislators to the various councils. These 14 nominations were justified on the ground that these nominated persons were "worthy of being members of the local bodies concerned".[12] An analysis of the voting results of the no-confidence motions tabled against the Panagal and the Subbaroyan ministries shows that these members supported the ministry through thick and thin.[13]

Secondly, persons who had already held, previous to their nomination, responsible elective positions like the Chairmanship of a Council or Presidentship of a District Board were nominated.[14] For instance, Mr. P. C. Ethirajulu Naidu, the President of the Guntur District Board was nominated to the Guntur Municipal Council. Again Mr. B. Venkataramanayya Naidu who previous to this nomination acted as an elected chairman of the Ellore Municipal Council for nearly five years and six months and as elected Councillor for about 8 years was nominated as a Councillor to the Ellore Municipal Council. Neither of these persons belonged to any recognised minority community.[15]

8. Ibid. Vol 2. p. 43
9. Ibid. Vol 45 pp. 116-17.
10. Ibid. Vol 35 Q No. 484.
11. Ibid. Vol 2. p. 43.
12. Ibid. Vol. 46. p. 213.
13 Ibid Vol. 36 p. 214.
14. Ibid Vol. 2. p. 43.
15. Ibid. Vol. 35. Q. 484.

Thirdly, Brahmins who do not belong to any recognised minority community, were nominated to seventeen Municipal Councils in 1922.[16] The Government nominated a Brahmin to the Salem Municipal Council even though there were already five Brahmins on it.[17]

Fourthly, persons who were defeated in the Municipal elections were nominated. For instance, one Mr. Venugopala Pillai who was defeated successively in three wards was nominated to the Chidambaram Municipal Council.[18]

Fifthly, persons who were unseated by judicial decisions were nominated. For example, one Mr. Ramaswamy Naidu was elected to the Dindigul Municipal Council. His election was set aside by the Sub-Court. He preferred a revision petition to the High Court. Before the decision of the High Court was known the Provincial Government nominated Mr. Naidu to the Dindigul Municipal Council. But the interesting part of this nomination was that in order to make room for Mr. Naidu one of the nominated Councillors belonging to a minority community was induced to resign his seat on the Council.[19]

Lastly, officials were appointed as Municipal Councillors. For instance, Mr. W. R. S. Sathianathan, I.C.S., was nominated to the Tinnevelly Council on the ground that his appointment would materially enhance the capacity of the council to cope with its arduous duties.[20]

The nominated element constituted a disturbing factor in the smooth working of municipal administration. It converted the majorities into minorities and minorities into majorities. There was a scramble for the nominated seats. Each party tried to secure as many seats as possible. The Ministry in its turn through this power treated the Municipal Councils as their useful adjuncts rather than as institutions intended for the welfare of the people of the locality. Nominations were made and made almost always with an eye to secure support for the ministerialists.[21] The Ministry,

16. Ibid. Vol. 5. Q 1349
17. Ibid Vol 24. Q. 103.
18. Ibid. Vol. 46. Q. 1130.
19. Speech of Rao Bahadur C. V S. Narasimharaju. Ibid. Vol. 21. pp 786.
20. Ibid Vol 34 p. 53.
21. The Hindu. Editorial. dated 28—11—1923.

therefore, did not make nominations in the spirit in which they ought to have been made namely, with a view to helping the poor and the helpless.[22]

Public opinion demanded the abolition of nominations. Act X of 1930 did away with the nominated element. In its place, seats are reserved for the following minority communities, Muslims, Indian Christians, Scheduled castes, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Women.[23]

In reserving seats certain principles have to be observed. Firstly, the total number of reserved seats should not exceed one-fourth of the sanctioned strength of the council. Secondly, seats should not be reserved to a community which constitutes more than one half of the total population in the municipal area. Thirdly, reservation for the communities mentioned above should not be as a matter of course but should be used to protect these communities when they have a special interest to be considered or are sufficiently large in population to justify representation. Fourthly, Muhammadans, Christians and Adi-Dravidas should have at least one member on every council unless their population is altogether negligible. Fifthly, the reservation of seats for women should not be pressed on the councils if they do not desire it. Lastly the reserved seat should be allocated to the ward in which the voting strength of the community is greatest.[24] In other words reservation should give an opportunity to the greatest number of members of the community concerned to take part in elections.

Accordingly, seats are reserved for the members of the European community in 14 Municipalities;[25] for the Muhammadans in all the councils excepting in Vaniyambadi where they form more than 55 per cent of the total population, in Srirangam where their population is only 0·2 per cent and in Coonoor; for the Adi-dravidas in all the councils excepting in Cochin and Chittoor; for

22. Speech of Mr. (now Sir) C. R. Reddi on the no-confidence motion against the Panagal ministry M.L.C.P. Vol. 15. p. 134. See also the speech of Dewan Bahadur (now Sir) M Krishnan Nair on the no-confidence motion against the Subbaroyan ministry. M L C.P. Vol. 36.

23. At present Government have power to nominate all the members of a council. Sec. 8. Act. XXIV. Madras. 1942.

24. G.O. No. 187. L.M 21—1—1931.

25 M L.C.P Vol 59 Q. No 659 At present seats are reserved for the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in 18 councils. G.O. No. 3453. L.A. 16—11—1942.

women in all the councils excepting in Anantapur, Narasaraopet, Bimilipatam, Ootacamund, Vaniyambadi and Coonoor; for the Indian Christians in all the councils excepting in Cochin, Chidambaram, Chicacole, Chittoor, Srirangam, Tiruvallur, Walajapet, Kodaikanal, Vanaiyambadi, Gudiyattam, Anakapalli and Karaikudi. Seats are reserved for the Anglo-Indians in Calicut, Cannanore, Trichy, Ooty, Vizagapatam, Coonoor, Saidapet and Villupuram.[26] Reservation of seats does not prohibit the members of the community for whom a seat is reserved from contesting for a non-reserved seat. On the otherhand any person belonging to any community, provided he has the necessary qualifications, may contest for a general seat.[27]

The Provincial Government does not appear to have observed the principles which it laid in the matter of reservation of seats. For instance, seats are reserved for the Muslim community in Palacole, Srivilliputtur, Mayavaram and Chicacole where they form not more than 2 per cent of the total population. Again, no principle seems to have been observed in the number of seats reserved for the Muslims. For instance, two seats are reserved for the Muslims in Cuddapah with a population of 4·9 per cent but only one seat in Hindupur and Tadipatri where they form 27·22 and 33·97 per cent of the total population in their places; and three seats in Ellore and Bezwada where they constitute only 10·4 and 12·2 per cent of the total population. Before 1932 one seat was reserved for the European community in Masulipatam even though their voting strength was only 14. At present one seat is reserved for the European Community in Bimilipatam, even though their voting strength is only 4. These facts give us the impression that in reserving seats for the minority communities, their number and importance were not taken into consideration.

Again reserved seats are allotted to different wards. That is, the three reserved seats for the Muslims in Bezwada are allotted to three different wards. This sort of reservation, places the minority community concerned in an undue advantageous position. The Muhamadans in Bezwada not only get their quota of reserved seats but something more from the wards in which they constitute a majority in view of the provision that any qualified person may contest for a general seat. Therefore in order to do justice to all

26. See the notifications in the F.S.G G. P.I.A. 1930.
27. Sec. 7. (3). Act. V. 1920. Madras.

the communities, all the reserved seats for each of the minority communities should either be reserved in the ward in which they are strong in voting strength or the members of the minority communities should be prohibited from contesting for a non-reserved seat in the ward in which a seat or seats are already reserved for their communities. It is therefore suggested that while any one may contest for a general seat, such contest should not be permitted by persons in the ward in which a seat is reserved for their communities.

Lastly, seats are not reserved always in the wards in which the majority of the voters of the community concerned are residing. Political considerations seem to have influenced the Government in ruling out the general principle that reservation should give an opportunity to the greatest number of the members of the community concerned to partake in elections. The instance which attracted the attention of the members of the Legislative Council was the transfer of the Indian Christian reserved seat from the 26th ward to a neighbouring ward in Madura. The Special Officer of the Madura Municipality, the Collector of Madura and the Inspector of Municipal Councils had all enquired into this question and allocated the Indian Christian seat to the 26th ward for the simple reason that there were 200 voters in that ward. The Government accepted the recommendation of these officers. But in the eleventh hour, for some mysterious reason, the reserved seat was transferred to a neighbouring ward where the voting strength was only 31. An adjournment motion was moved in the Legislative Council on this subject. A careful reading of the proceedings of the Council reveals the fact that one of the Ministers Mr. (now Sir) P. T. Rajan was interested in the transfer of the reserved seat.[28] It must be realised that such transfer of seats places the community concerned in an advantageous position and enables it to secure more seats than it deserves.

Powers and Functions.—The powers of a Municipal Council are, it elects its own chairman and Vice-chairman. It can remove them whenever they fail to command its confidence; it has power to elect a qualified person as councillor when no person is elected even at a second election: to remove a councillor who suffers from any one of the following disqualifications—sentenced by a court for

28 Speech of Mr. Venkataramier, M L.C.P. Vol. 64. Pp. 350-58.

a criminal offence for a period of six months, becomes a lunatic, a bankrupt, an insolvent or acquires interest in Municipal contracts or is employed as a legal practitioner on behalf of or against the council or has failed to attend three "effective meetings" of the council.[29] It can also restore a councillor who has not attended three effective meetings to the membership of the council[30] It can frame by-laws with the approval of Government for the good government of the town.

The functions which a council performs are of two kinds—optional and obligatory. Optional functions are those which a council may undertake, but obligatory functions are those which it must undertake. The obligatory functions are the maintenance of municipal office, municipal property, payment of salaries, lighting of public streets, maintenance of burial grounds, provision of medical relief, diffusion of education, registration of births and deaths, vaccination, provision of slaughter houses and such other functions as may be declared obligatory by the Provincial Government. In practice, however, the functions performed by a council are far more numerous than those mentioned above. In addition, it generally undertakes the inspection of weights and measures, prevention of adulteration of foods and drugs, inspection and licensing of dangerous and offensive trades, opening of maternity and child welfare centres, control of theatres etc. The councils are, however, prohibited from encroaching upon the domain specially reserved to the chairman or the Executive authority nor should they assist an organisation which has been declared unlawful.[31]

The Chairman.[32]—The chairman is elected by the councillors. During the period 1920-33 he was not merely the titular head of his town or its first citizen. He was also the administrative head of the Council. Since 1933 he has been divested of the executive functions.

The Chairman need not be a man of executive ability. He should have pleasant manners and capacity to utter few well

29. G.O. No. 2280, L.M. 27—6—1931.
30. G.O. No. 3291. L M. 30—7—1926.
31. G.O No. 1380. L M. 16—4—1932.
32. G.O. Nos. 2718. L.M. 29—7—1936; 1407. L.M. 10—4—1933; 4170 L.M. 20—9—1934; 2021. L.M. 27—5—1935; 1477 L.A. 23—4—1938, 3456 L.A. 2—9—1938.

chosen words at any function. He is the leader of the house. The smooth working of municipal administration depends upon his good sense and tactfulness in handling the human material with which he comes in contact. If he is incorruptible and straightforward he is sure to become a powerful factor to reckon with.

Before 1930 the Governor-in-Council had power either to appoint or to authorise the council to elect its own chairman. At present a chairman must be elected by the councillors at a meeting specially called for the purpose and presided over by the Revenue Divisional Officer if the council has no vice-chairman. If more than two candidates contest for chairmanship the one that obtains the smallest number of votes should be eliminated and votes must be taken again. The process of elimination should go on until two candidates only are left. If there is an equality of votes, the president of the meeting shall decide the question by drawing lots.

Previous to 1922 the term of the office of Chairman was one year. At present it is three years.[33]

The chairman may delegate any of his functions to the vice-chairman. The chairman's functions devolve on the vice-chairman during his temporary absence or incapacity. A vice-chairman, who is thus in charge cannot in his turn delegate his powers to a councillor. Nor can a chairman delegate his powers and functions to a councillor when the council has elected a vice-chairman. Such delegation can only be made when there is no vice-chairman[34] or if the vice-chairman is continuously absent for more than 15 days from the jurisdiction.[35] Such delegation should not exceed in the aggregate 90 days in any year. While delegating any of his functions the chairman may place such restrictions as he may think fit.[36] When a vice-chairman or a councillor, functioning as chairman, addresses a letter to the Government or to any authority, he should quote at the top of the letter the Section under which he is discharging the functions of a chairman.[37]

A chairman may be removed from office by impeachment. At first no specific provision was made in the Act. A number of

33. G.O. No 2260. L.M. 22—11—1922
34 G.O. No 2049. L.M 28—7—1924.
35 G O No. 2312. L M. 27—11—1932
36. G.O No. 2289. L.M. 22—11—1922.
37. G.O. No. 560. L.M. 13—2—1935.

chairmen ruled out motions, given notice of by councillors expressing want of confidence in them, on the ground that no provision was made in the Act. The Act was subsequently amended. At present the councils have power to remove their chairmen by an extraordinary vote of three-fifths of the sanctioned strength of the council at a meeting specially called for the purpose and presided over by the Revenue Divisional Officer.

Some of the councils had "paid-chairmen". A present we have all honorary chairmen. They are paid conveyance allowance under certain conditions.

Most of the chairmen do not spend more than an hour or two on the average per day on the affairs of the municipality. The remainder of their time is spent on their own business.

As regards the types of persons that are elected as chairmen, some are briefless lawyers, some are landlords and some are merchants. Some of them are practically illiterate. They do not understand the A B C of municipal administration. They are satisfied if they are garlanded and given a seat in the front row at all public meetings or functions. Some of them are corrupt[38] and make use of their position to give a silver lining to their pockets. Some exploit their position for their own advantage.[39] Some of them may not accept bribes but do not allow their righteous indignation to put a stop to it. However, we find here and there in this motley crowd, some chairmen with ambitious programmes. They move heaven and earth to achieve their ambitions. They work with great courage and faithfulness. The chairmen of the Vizagapatam and Guntur Council 1938-44 belong to this category of chairmen. These are two excellent examples of what a chairman should be. Both of them work with vision; they refuse to admit defeat. But they are exceptions.

38. Evidence of Mr. Brown, I.C S., Simon Commission Report. Vol. 15.

39. The Chairman of the Madura municipality Mr. L. K. Tulasiram became famous for acts of 'audacious nepotism'. For instance, he appointed his own son-in-law as head clerk superseding the claims of senior men. He reverted the Head Clerk of the Revenue Section and appointed a man of his own community He retired the Revenue Officer created a post of Revenue Officer in addition to the existing one and appointed two inexperienced men of his own community to those posts. See the Report of Rao Bahadur (now Sir) N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Inspector of Municipal Councils. G.O. No. 4438 L.M. 13—11—1930.

The Councillor.—A municipal councillor is elected for a period of three years. All the councillors are elected at one time and go out at one time. A councillor comes into office only after taking the oath of allegiance to H.M. the King Emperor. If the prescribed oath is not taken in time the office of councillor becomes vacant. An interesting incident happened at Anantapur in 1922. None of the councillors took the prescribed oath in time and all ceased to be councillors. The Government was faced with an intriguing situation, for there was no council to give notice of dissolution which is obligatory under the Act. They therefore abolished the council and reconstituted a fresh one. A councillor may resign his office at any time.

Every councillor enjoys certain rights and privileges. He is entitled to attend the meetings of the council. He may join with others in requisitioning a meeting of the council[40] for valid purposes.[41] He may interpellate the chairman, move resolutions second propositions and amendments, speak on all subjects placed before the council, vote on all subjects, ask for any record of the council, call the attention of the Executive authority to any wastage or neglect in the execution of a work or want of any locality and suggest improvements which may appear to be desirable. Beyond this he cannot do anything.

Under an elective system there is a chance of getting imbeciles into the municipal councils. Let us therefore know the type of persons that are elected as municipal councillors, their educational qualifications, and their economic background.[42]

40. G O. No. 3435. L M. 22—8—1928.
41. G O. Nos. 1466. L.M. 29—3—1928; 1451. L.M. 26—6—1924.
42. A questionnaire was issued to all the 82 municipal councils. Q (j) reads as follws: "What are the educational qualifications of the councillors? How many of them have passed the middle school examination, S.S.L.C. examination and how many are graduates? What is their occupation? Do you think that councils are filled up by right type of men? What is your experience?" To this, replies have been received from 60 municipal commissioners. But the answers furnished are not statistically accurate. Only 16 of the 60 have noted the particulars somewhat correctly Some refused to answer the last part of the question. One commissioner writes to us 'Your question is a delicate and embarassing one' True it is. But we would have treated any opinion expressed as purely personal and therefore confidential. Writing to us on the educational qualifications of the municipal councillors, one commissioner suggests "It is very desirable that some educational qualifications are prescribed for members. A pass in III form

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF THE COUNCILLORS ON 1ST APRIL, 1944

Name of the Council.	Sanctioned strength.	Illiterates.	Graduates.	Intermediate.	S.S.L.C.	Middle School.	Others.
1. Salem ..	36	Nil	3	Nil	2	31	Nil
2. Trichinopoly ..	36	Nil	4	—	—	—	32
3. Kumbakonam ..	32	Nil	5	Nil	4	—	23
4. Negapatam ..	28	Nil	3	1	4	5	14
5. Mayavaram ..	24	Nil	2	1	Nil	10	11
6. Virudunagar ..	24	Nil	Nil	Nil	5	—	19
7. Proddatur ..	20	2	4	Nil	Nil	5	9
8. Devacottai ..	20	Nil	1	Nil	1	12	6
9. Pollachi ..	20	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	14	6
10. Karaikudi ..	20	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	19
11. Periyakulam ..	20	Nil	2	Nil	3	14	Nil
12. Sivakasi ..	16	Nil	1	Nil	6	6	3
13. Tadipatri ..	16	Nil	Nil	Nil	4	—	12
14. Narasaraopet ..	16	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	14
15. Ongole ..	16	Nil	2	Nil	2	5	7
16. Gudivada ..	16	Nil	3	Nil	1	4	8
17. Chicacole ..	16	Nil	7	Nil	2	2	5
Total ..	376	2	40	2	34	108	188

The sanctioned strength of the 17 councils was 376. Of them 10·63 per cent were graduates; 9·50 per cent passed the S.S.L.C. examination; 28·72 per cent passed the middle school examination and the rest 50·20 per cent were 'others'—who knew how to put their signature or to read few simple sentences. The interesting feature was that in Trichinopoly Municipal Council—a first grade municipality with an annual revenue of Rs. 5,88,969—there were 11 persons who did not know English. Curiously enough the administration report and the budget and the entire correspondence of this council were in English. There were only four graduates in this council. In Salem—another first grade municipality with an

at least is necessary, so that the members can at least understand the agenda and the subjects that are placed before the council for disposal". From this we may conclude that some of the councillors are those who cannot read and understand even the agenda of the council. The qualification which the commissioner suggests is the qualification prescribed for bill-collectors.

annual revenue of Rs. 3,94,481, 31 out of the 36 councillors passed the middle school examination only. And yet these two places are centres of learning and culture with a number of well equipped educational institutions. In some councils like Virudunagar Pollachi and Tadipatri there was not a single councillor who has had a taste of college education. In some councils like Cuddalore and Proddatur there were illiterates.

Regarding the occupation of the councillors we have still more interesting figures. For the study of the economic background of the councillors we have selected 10 councils viz, Trichinopoly, Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Devakottai, Periyakulam, Udipi, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Narasaraopet and Gudivada. The sanctioned strength of these ten councils was 242. Of these 5 seats were vacant on 1—4—44. The remaining 237 councillors were engaged in the following occupations.

1. Banking .. 5
2. Zamindar .. 1
3. Mirasidars .. 13
4. Landlords .. 26
5. Cultivation .. 18
6. Agent Tajmahal Beedi .. 1
7. Merchants .. 75
8. Contractors .. 13
9. Proprietors Cigar Factories .. 2
10. Plantain Mudi Commission Agents .. 2
11. Tanners .. 2
12. Insurance Co. Agents .. 2
13. Teachers .. 4
14. Pensioners .. 3
15. Brokers .. 3
16. Stevodore .. 1
17. Lawyers .. 24
18. Dentist and Optician .. 1
19. Quacks .. 6
20. Allopathi Medical Practitioners .. 2
21. Housewives .. 6
22. Cinema Proprietor .. 1
23. Coffee Hotel keeper .. 1
24. Cycle repairer .. 1
25. Press Correspondent .. 1
26. Newspaper Agent .. 1
27. Printer and Publisher .. 1
28. Goldsmiths .. 2
29. Tailor .. 1
30. Vakil's Clerks .. 8
31. Brick dealers .. 1
32. Village Magistrate .. 1
33. Manageress of an Elementary School .. 1
34. S. P. C. A. Agent .. 1
35. Camp Furniture maker .. 1
36. Engine Maistry .. 1
37. Income Tax Practitioner .. 1
38. Vicar General .. 1
39. Commission Agent .. 1

Merchants include all classes of merchants, hardware merchants, ruby merchants, diamond merchants, cloth merchants, skin merchants and general merchants; similarly contractors. There are milk contractors, fire wood contractors. But the most distressing feature is that respectable women are not coming forward to contest the seats reserved for their community. Some of the male councillors make a living out of their councillorship by getting contracts on behalf of fictitious

persons.[43] This brief survey of the educational and professional qualifications of the councillors leads us to the conclusion that municipal administration is at present entrusted to men of notoriously bad characters, to men sodden with alchol, to men without ability or even education, to men who cannot understand the work of a municipal council.[44] The problem is how to get rid of these people. How to improve the quality of membership of the councils ? This can be done "by applying to politicians a few of those tests for intellectual, physical and moral fitness which we apply to the candidates for almost every other kind of job.... In practically every other sphere of activity we have accepted the principle that no body may be admitted to hold responsible positions unless he can pass an examination, show a clean bill of health, and produce satisfactory testimonials as to his moral character and even then the office is given, in most cases, only on the condition that its holder shall relinquish it as soon as he reaches the threshold

43 The real contractor in 1930-31 for the removal of rubbish in the Madura municipality was a councillor one Mr. Lakshmana Naidu. It was with this gentleman that the chairman negotiated for the enforcement of the contract conditions. "What distresses one more than anything else" writes Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar "is the atmosphere of corruption that surrounds the chairman and the councillors and the openess and freedom with which the man in the street and respectable citizens . take this corruption for granted and talk of it. A considerable number of municipal councillors are directly or indirectly interested in contracts....An equally substantial number of councillors have relations or persons in the employ of the council. The contractor who purchased the rubbish and night soil for the year 1930-31 has a brother on the council. ..We have another councillor still who was formerly manager of the municipal office His services were dispensed away with in connection with Kerosene oil fraud The chairman appointed this councillor....for supervising the kerosene oil lights. The leading Muhammadan Councillor has quite a number of relations in municipal service The leading Konar councillor is the publisher of a number of text books.. Most of the books prescribed by the chairman for use in municipal schools are the publications of this councillor. The Vice-chairman's son was appointed as municipal vakil". See Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's Report Op. Cit.

44. Mr. Corn Smith, I.C.S., Secretary to Government writes, "What is needed more than anything else is the participation in local affairs of public spirited men and women who will look not to their own individual advancement and gain but to the good of the community. The position and prestige attached to membership of council has attracted very often the wrong type of men to our councils. Men who do not have educational qualifications, economic and social standing come forward to contest elections. It is this danger which threatens the foundations of good administration" Local Self-Government Quarterly. 1933.

of old age. By applying these rudimentary precautions to politicians, we should be able to filter out of our public life a great deal of that self-satisfied stupidity, that authoritative senile incompetence, that downright dishonesty, which at present contaminates it".[45]

The Committee System.—The functions of municipal councils have in recent times increased so enormously that it is no longer possible for a council of considerable size to concern itself with the details of administration. To overcome this difficulty the committee system has been devised. It should, however, be understood that democracy is not ousted by the committee system. On the other hand democracy is made more effective by the introduction of the committee system.[46]

The merits of the committee system are it provides a link between local needs and local sentiment. It prevents the autocracy of the local official. It brings various interests and administration into organised relationship.[47] It provides a common ground "to discuss questions, even burning questions, without bitterness". We generally find in the committee system a willingness on the part of the members to decide questions in the light of common sense and a tendency to forget at least temporarily, party feelings and political beliefs when faced by the uncomfortable facts of life.[48]

Committees have been classified severally. They are classified as autonomous and non-autonomous. This division is based on the powers delegated to the committees. Autonomous committees may be allowed to do all that is necessary for the successful performance of the functions entrusted to them. They may plan, make necessary arrangements for the execution of the plan without submitting their decisions for the approval of the council. As long as a committee possesses autonomous powers the councils are powerless to interfere with their proceedings. The delegation of powers to the committees may be either statutory or devolved by the council. The non-autonomous committees are those which do not have any power to carry out their decisions. Their conclusions are recommendatory in character.

45. Huxley. Ends and Means. Chap. XI. p. 174.
46 Preface by Sir A. Salter. Advisory Bodies. Ed. Vernon.
47. Laski. Grammar of Politics. p. 380-87.
48. Simey. Principles of Social Administration.

This classification is defective. It does not give us a complete picture of the various kinds of committees. Committees have been classified traditionally into two, statutory and optional.[49]

The statutory committees are those which a council must constitute. Under Sections 68 and 73 of the Act of 1920, each municipal council is bound to constitute a Contracts Committee and an Appointments Committee. The Contracts Committee has power to nominate contractors for all works whose estimated cost does not exceed Rs. 500 and to dispose of all tenders whose estimated cost is not more than Rs. 1,000. Similarly the appointments committee constituted under Section. 73 has power to appoint any one with requisite qualifications to a post whose maximum monthly salary exceeds Rs. 50. Before 1930 a committee known as the Appeals committee was in existence to hear appeals against the orders of punishment of the executive authority. The distinguishing features of the statutory committees are firstly, the council must compulsorily refer the business to the concerned committees and must act only after the receipt of a report from them. Secondly, their constitution, strength, membership and other details are laid down in some detail either by the Act or by the rules framed by Government.

The optional committees are those which a council may constitute. The distinguishing features of the optional committees are their powers and functions, their constitution and structure are all determined by the council. The council has complete freedom to constitute what committees it likes, to delegate any powers it likes and to withdraw them whenever it pleases. The optional committees are of several kinds, viz, Standing committees, Ad hoc committees, Joint committees, and the whole council as a committee.

There are a number of standing committees in some of the Municipal Councils, but in some there are no standing committees at all. In most of the councils there is a standing committee known as 'Taxation Appeals Committee'. Powers are delegated to this committee to decide all appeals preferred by taxpayers against the assessments fixed by the executive authority. In addition to this committee there are other committees known as Education Committee, Finance Committee and Town Planning Committee.

49. 'Committee System' by Laski in 'A Century of Municipal Progress'.

Apart from these standing committees we have ad hoc committees. Unforseen circumstances may arise and the council may appoint individual councillor or councillors to investigate and report on any matter. The ad hoc committees are not of permanent nature. They come into existence when an emergency arises and cease to exist when the emergency is over.

In addition to the ad hoc committees we have joint committees. Joint Committees may be constituted consisting of members of more than one local body for a purpose in which they are jointly interested and for any matter for which they are jointly responsible. It is obligatory for a local body to join a joint committee when directed by the Provincial Government to do so. Joint committees are generally formed for purposes of Town Planning and for the settlement of disputes between two or more local bodies.[50] For instance, a joint committee was constituted consisting of representatives of the Chingleput District Board and the Conjeevaram Municipality to settle a dispute regarding the payment of contribution by the Conjeevaram Municipality from the collections of toll gates fees.[51] Jont Committees may be either permanent or of temporary nature.

Lastly, a council may resolve itself into a committee to consider any subject which is before it. When it does the rules of debate need not be observed. A motion need not be seconded. Any one may speak more than once. Very rarely do the councils resolve themselves into committees.

Regarding the composition of the committees, it is determined, in the case of statutory committees by the statute itself. The contracts committee and the appointments committee constituted under Sections 68 and 73 of the District Municipalities Act should consist of the chairman of the council, commissioner and a councillor elected by the council. In the case of non-statutory committees the composition is left to the discretion of the councils subject to the following conditions. Firstly, when persons other than members of the council are appointed to any committee, their number should not exceed one third of the total strength of the committee. Secondly, whenever a joint committee is to be constituted the details of the constitution must be settled first. That is, the total

50 M.L.C.P. Vol. 22, p. 573.
51. M.L.C.P. Vol. 40, p. 1770.

strength of the joint committee, the number of members to be coopted, the number of members which each local authority should appoint, the chairmanship of the committee, the precedure to be adopted for the transaction of business, the quorum of the committee and the publication of the proceedings of the committee. In case a joint committee is constituted by the Provincial Government, these details are settled by it.

Unlike in some English cities, like Manchester, the chairman of the council is the ex-officio chairman of all the committees. This practice enables the chairman to have a knowledge of what the several committees are doing.

Regarding the size of the committees, Sir Ernest Simon thinks that "if all councillors were men of reason, of first class experience and ability, with no political difference of point of view, with no private interest ,direct or indirect to serve, working wholeheartedly and devoting a greater part of their time to the council work and if there is no danger of bureaucracy"[52] a small committee of eight will be the best. It is best because, it will meet often; attendance of the members will be regular ; it will maintain a lively interest in its work; its decisions are likely to be practical. Further larger membership is likely to result in the reduction of collective ability. However, it is not practicable for three reasons. Firstly small membership may mean the exclusion of certain vested interests which is not practicable. Pragmatism therefore dominates idealism. Secondly, it may so happen that at a particular stage of an enquiry the committee may feel the presence of members who are experts in a particular branch of work. Cooption of such members, though results in the increase of membership, it increases the usefulness and completeness of the committee's recommendations. Lastly, the nature and extent of the work of a committee may be so very heavy and varied that it may have to split up into a number of sub-committees and under such circumstances a large committee is preferable, for instance, the Public Health Committee. In the district municipalities the size of the statutory committees is only three. The size of the optional committees varies according to the nature of the committee. Even here it does not exceed 5.

The membership of the committees need not necessarily be limited to the members of the council. Outsiders who have special

52. Simon. A City Council from within.

qualifications may be coopted subject to the condition that their number does not exceed one third of the total strength. The coopted members should not suffer from any of the disqualifications attached to the councillors excepting the residential qualification.

The need to bring in outsiders to strengthen the committees is justified on the ground that democratic process does not assure the representation of all shades of opinion; again it does not guarantee the selection of men of wisdom and knowledge; lastly, most of the councillors are essentially "casual labourers" with neither leisure to study municipal problems nor ability to acquire knowledge.[53] To make up this deficiency experts are coopted. The purpose of cooption is therefore not only to utilise the great reservoir of knowledge, of skill and public spirit which is at the disposal of the public for nothing but also to keep the committees in touch with kindred organisations and associations engaged in similar work and whose friendly co-operation is essential.[54]

It must be said however that cooption is not popular in the district municipalities. It is not popular because of the fear that the coopted members would dominate the council. Again, the councils themselves, filled up by mediocrities are unable to appreciate the rich resources of scholarship and energy which are available for nothing. Finally, even when outsiders are coopted, they are invariably the political associates of the chairman or adherents of the party in power. We therefore suggest that cooption should be freely utilised for "the presence of a few people who know something of a subject dealt with, would be a welcome leavening of the collection of dead-heads and mediocrities who constitute the majority in most council committees".[55]

It is interesting to note how the proceedings of the committees are conducted. The writer attended the meetings of several committees. In some committees there was never any discussion. The chairman and the commissioner sat at one end of the table and carried on conversation in low tones. No one knew what they were talking about. The other members of the committee carried on their own conversation, smoking and sipping a cup of tea. Now and then the chairman read out the resolution drafted by him and

53 Finer English Local Government p. 226
54 Simon A City Council from within. p. 86
55 Hasluck Local Government in England. p. 181.

without waiting for any comment he passed on to the next item. Sometimes the members of the committee had no patience to sit through the entire agenda. After a half-hour's sitting the committee reduced itself to a committee of yes-men and approved of everything that was placed before it without any discussion. Thus in the end bureaucracy triumphed. One of the tricks by which a committee may be hoodwinked is to place all the controversial subjects at the end of the agenda paper. The proceedings of the Taxation Appeals Committee are very interesting. It consists of the chairman and two councillors elected by the council. The decisions of the committee in most cases are not arrived at, either by personally inspecting the properties of the appellants or by looking into the assessment registers. Personal and political considerations seem to influence the committee more than facts. At times these committees grant more relief than what was prayed for. This was the impression created in the mind of the writer when he attended the meetings of the Taxation Appeals Committee of the Nandyal Municipal Council.

The proceedings of the statutory committees need not be placed before the council for its approval. They may be placed on the table if the council desires. The council is not competent to modify them.[56] As regards the proceedings of the optional committees, it depends upon the powers delegated to the committee. For instance, the proceedings of the Taxation Appeals Committee need not be submitted to the council for its approval. For, it is given the power to dispose of appeals as it pleases. This instance is an exception and the councils are jealous of their powers and do not generally delegate powers to the committees. But it must also be said that 90 per cent of the decisions of the committees are approved without any comment or criticism, though there are occasions when the council vetoed even the decisions of the statutory committees.[57]

To what extent do the municipal councils make use of the committee system ? Of the 82 councils which were requested to supply us with copies of administration reports only 13 supplied us with reports for the year 1942-43. Of the 13 there were no non-statutory committees in one municipality, viz, Peddapuram. As regards others there were no standing committees excepting the

56 G.O. No. 2661. L.M. 24—6—1936.
57. See the proceedings of the Municipal Council, Nandyal 1939.

Taxation and Town Planning Committees in one viz, Hindupur. The extent of the use of the committee system in the remaining 11 councils in 1942-43 was as follows.

WORKING OF THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM DURING 1942-43

Name of the Municipality.	Statutory Committees.		Non-statutory Committees.		
	Number of Committees.	Number of meetings held.	Number of Committees.	Number of meetings held.	Joint Committees.
Srivilliputtur ..	2	Not known	1	Not known	Nil
Cuddapah .	2	"	2	Nil	Nil
Trichinopoly ..	2	22	9	41	Nil
Vizagapatam ..	2	Not known	6	Not known	Nil
Sivakasi ..	2	25	8	"	Nil
Vaniyambadi ..	2	Not known	4	"	Nil
Chicacole ..	2	26	6	4	Nil
Coimbatore ..	2	Not known	10	Not known	Nil
Anakapalli ..	2	15	5	8	Nil
Coonoor ..	2	Not known	4	Not known	Nil
Tuticorin ..	2	"	7	"	Nil

In all the 11 councils ad hoc committees were formed to consider urgent matters. But the significant feature is that some of the standing committees of some councils did not function during the year. For instance, the Finance, Education and Lighting Committees of the Anakapalli Municipality, the lighting, finance and town planning committees in Chicacole, the appointment and education committees in Vaniyambadi and the town planning and scholarship committees in Cuddapah were not convened even once during the year 1942-43. Five out of the seven standing committees in Tuticorin[58] never functioned during the year 1942-43. Of all the committees the most active ones were the Taxation Appeals Committee and the Encroachment Committee. The most inactive ones were the Finance, Town Planning and Education Committees.

From these facts it is evident that the statutory committees are functioning properly. It cannot but be. The optional committees

58. Administration Report 1942-43.

are not functioning properly. Most of the committees exist on paper.[59] It is because they are not endowed with power and responsibility. Unless powers are delegated to the committees it cannot be expected that they will function properly. If the Taxation Appeals Committee is active it is because powers are delegated to it. We therefore suggest that if municipal administration is to be effective the committee system must be used extensivly and the committees must be endowed with power and responsibility.

Again, there is not a single committee in any one of the municipalities mentioned above to coordinate the activities of the various committees. Each committee is functioning as a water-tight compartment. This sort of arrangement is not likely to promote efficiency and economy. Imagine for a moment the enormous waste of public funds involved if each committee is allowed to function in its own way without having a knowledge of what the other committees are doing. For instance, a street may have to be broken up to lay water pipes, to construct sewage channels and to lay electric cables. Supposing each committee functions in its own way, the street may have to be broken up several times, resulting in unnecessary and wasteful expenditure. The only way by which this can be prevented is to have a single committee—call it "General Purposes Committee"—consisting of representatives of all the standing committees. It may contain outsiders who are experts. This committee will not only coordinate the activities of the various committees but will also formulate a unified policy. It may be entrusted with the responsibility of general supervision over municipal administration and report to the council on the action taken by the executive on the resolutions passed by the council. It will thus act as a sort of second chamber.

Meetings of the Council.—The meetings of the municipal councils are of two kinds, statutory and non-statutory. The former are those which should be held at least once a month. In addition, meetings which are requisitioned by at least one-third of the sanctioned strength of the council, meetings which are convened to consider budget proposals, the administration report and meetings convened to elect chairman and vice-chairman may be considered as statutory meetings. The non-statutory meetings may be convened at any time by the chairman.

59. See the inspection notes of Rao Bahadur N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Inspector, Municipal Councils for the years 1921-22 and also the Administration Reports of the Municipalities for the year 1942-43.

The number of meetings which a council may hold depends upon several factors. Firstly, bigger municipalities may have larger number of standing committees and the real discussion generally takes place in the committees. Small councils do not generally have larger number of standing committees. They transact all business themselves. Naturally they meet at more frequent intervals than the bigger councils. For instance, Secondly, factious

Name of the Municipality	Grade.	Total revenue ordinary 1936-37.	Number of meetings held in the year			
			1936-37	1937-38	1938-39	1942-43
Trichinopoly	1	5,07,554	41	32	23	37
Coimbatore	I	4,49,401	44	41	41	27
Vizagapatam	II	2,04,096	15	19	26	25
Tenali	III	1,09,779	35	31	31	
Chicacole	IV	64,548	59	43	41	36
Tirupati	IV	66,749	77	66	37	

councils are not generally business-like. The opposition generally adopts obstructive tactics. The disposal of subjects placed before such councils will be generally slow.[60] Adjournment of meetings for the want of a quorum or for other reasons will be frequent. Naturally meetings must be held at frequent intervals. Councils which are free from faction generally meet once in a month and the maximum number of times which it may meet may not be more than 20 in a year.

60. The transaction of business in the Madura Municipal Council during the year 1930-31 was 'scandalously' slow By July 1930, 1000 subjects were pending disposal. In order to expedite the disposal of subjects the collector of Madura attended the council meetings and got some 800 subjects disposed of. When the collector ceased to attend the meetings of the council the progress came to a stop and the councillors relapsed into their old habits. On the 10th December, 1444 subjects were pending disposal. During the months of January to March 1931 the councillors were very busy with their plans for the removal of the chairman and therefore would not attend the meetings of the council and on the 31st March, the number of subjects pending disposal was 3068. Further the undisposed items were not brought on the agenda for the next meeting. No order was observed in the disposal of subjects Items in which individual councillors were interested were picked out and after disposing them the meetings were adjourned. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar's Report. Op. Cit.

The percentage of attendance at the meetings is fairly high. It was 58 per cent in Coimbatore, 51·4 per cent in Trichinopoly, 40·6 per cent in Vizagapatam and 73·8 per cent in Coonoor during the year 1942-43.[61]

The procedure for convening a meeting of the council is as follows. Every member of the Council must be given notice specifying the date, time and place of meeting of the council at least three clear days before the day fixed for each ordinary meeting together with a copy of the agenda of the meeting. In the case of special meetings at least 24 hours notice must be given. Meetings should not be held on public holidays.[62] Non-observance of any of these statutory provisions will invalidate a meeting.

The agenda must be prepared in the following order; first, interpellations, then the papers to be laid on the table, third, election of members of the standing committees and other committees, fourth, official business brought forward by the chairman, fifth, proceedings of the standing and other committees and lastly, motions of the private members of the council.

Excepting brief notes on the subjects entered in the agenda[63] files relating to the subjects should not be circulated among the councillors.[64]

The meetings of the council are presided over by the chairman. The duties of a chairman are to see that a meeting is properly constituted, that all the statutory requirements are observed, that no discussion is allowed on matters which are not included in the agenda, to decide all points of order raised during the discussions, to maintain order, to put motions and amendments for voting and adjourn meetings whenever there is disorder.

The first duty of a chairman is to see that there is a quorum. The quorum is 6 and if the sanctioned strength of a council exceeds 16 it should be not less than one-third of the sanctioned strength of the council. The minutes of the previous meeting must be read and approved at every meeting. After these preliminaries are over the business of the day must be taken up.

61. See the Administration Reports for the year 1942-43.
62. G O. No. 1936. L.M. 24—4—1934
63. G O No. 1062. L.M. 7—5—1923.
64. G.O. No 595. L.M. 14—2—1935.

The first item of business is to answer the questions put by the councillors. A councillor is entitled to ask a question provided it is relevant and seeks information. He may also put supplementary questions for the purpose of further elucidation of the answers given.[65] The admissibility and non-admissibility of questions is left to the discretion of the chairman.[66] In practice very few questions are asked.

The last item on the agenda is the non-official motions.[67] A councillor may move a motion by giving ten days notice to the chairman. This privilege is intended to enable individual councillors to draw the attention of the executive authority to a defect or want in the administration. In practice, however, all sorts of resolutions are moved, some of them are not at all related to municipal administration. At times the resolutions passed by the council form the main basis for their supersession. The chairman may disallow a motion on the ground that it relates to a matter unconnected with municipal administration or that it contravenes the provisions of the Act.[68] Motions which are likely to lead to an unseemly or communal controversy may be referred to the Provincial Government and their orders obtained as to whether they should be admitted.[69]

Regarding the conduct of debates, rules tell us that a member should not speak more than once excepting the councillor who has moved a substantive motion. The speech must be strictly relevant to the matter before the council. It should not refer to matters which are sub-judice. It should not attack personally a sitting councillor. It should not use offensive expressions nor should it contain treasonable, seditious, defamatory or unparliamentary language. The right of speech should not be utilised as a means of obstructing the transaction of business.[70]

These rules are honoured more in the breach than in the observance. The writer attended the meetings of several councils.

65. G O No. 1175. L M. 22—6—1921.
66. G O. No 970. L M. 1—3—1928.
67. The term motion and resolution are used synonymously but a motion is properly a proposition or a proposal formally proposed whereas a resolution is a motion which has been adopted by the council.
68 G.O. No 743. L.M. 29—4—1921.
69. G.O. No. 3696. L.M. 16—9—1938.
70. G O. No.

The proceedings are often spoilt by the presence of a number of irresponsible councillors with a powerful voice. They talk in indecent language, and very often irrelevantly. They do not generally observe the rules of debate. They are not restrained by a sense of shame. The type of persons that take part in the discussions may be classified into four. Firstly we have the inactive intelligent who follows the proceedings closely but is prevented by nervousness to give expression to his ideas. Secondly, we have the active intelligent who remains silent but intervenes only when necessity arises. Thirdly, we have the inactive unintelligent who attends every meeting but never opens his mouth. He derives pleasure and satisfaction from the membership of the council. Lastly, there is the active unintelligent who speaks on every question placed before the council. The number of the first two classes of persons is negligible. Generally the council's discussions are dominated by the last class of persons. They monopolise the entire time of the council. They often speak or repeat the same arguments which the previous speakers had already advanced. Some of their statements are absolutely false. The tempo of the debates reaches the highest pitch when personal and party feelings run high. Sometimes the heated discussions lead to disorderly scenes. The examples given below give us an idea of the disorderly scenes that occur in some of the councils.

'DISORDERLY SCENES IN NANDYAL COUNCIL'

'MEMBERS USE DISCOURTEOUS LANGUAGE'

'Disorderly scenes were witnessed last evening at a special meeting of the Nandyal Municipal Council. A wordy warfare then ensued. ..in the course of which discourteous and provocative language was used . At this stage there was great confusion and disorder which would have taken a serious turn but for the intervention of the chairman'[71]

This instance is nothing when compared with the following

"FRACAS IN A CIVIC MEETING

Bezwada, 1st April

(From our own correspondent)

"A meeting of the local municipal council was held yesterday... in the council hall with Mr. M Chairman in the chair. 30 councillors attended the meeting The meeting hall and the municipal office compound were fully packed by the rate-payers who had gathered to witness the proceedings in view of the Government's warning that the council would be superseded in case the budget for 1933-34 was not passed by the council and submitted to the Government before the end of March.....

71. The Madras Mail, 29th June, 1940.

The chairman introduced budget....Mr. C. S. proposed and Rao Sahib C. K. seconded that the budget....introduced by the chairman be passed.....

Mr. S. moved and Mr. P. seconded that the subject be adjourned....

Rao Sahib C. K. moved and Mr. G. S. seconded that the subject be considered that day only.....The amendment of Rao Sahib was put to vote. It was found that 13 votes were for and 16 against. The Rao Sahib called for a poll.

At this stage Mr. K. S. remarked that it was all a children's play which remark was objected to by the chairman. Thereupon Mr. K. S. replied that it was a side talk with a brother councillor and need not be taken notice of. The chairman opined that such language should not be indulged in.

A MELEE

It was during this conversation that a commotion started. In the twinkling of an eye, tables were thrown aside. A councillor got upon the chair and began belabouring the one sitting opposite to him. Instantly chairs were raised and the galata went on to the discomfort of the councillors, and the huge crowd which gathered ran pell-mell in all directions to escape beating. Many jumped over the high compound walls and ran away. The affray continued for about 15 minutes, after which the police arrived and dispersed the crowd. Rings, watches, sticks were lost besides injuries received. Mr. G. councillor....received severe injuries.... Mrs. R., one of the two lady councillors, received a cane cut on her back and got fever. Some of those who received injuries were rendered medical aid by the Municipal Health Officer and Dr. D.....in the Municipal office while others went to the Government Hospital for treatment".[72]

These not unusual incidents illustrate the tempo of the discussions of the councils in the district municipalities. This state of affairs does a good deal to keep away intelligent men with some status and economic independence from the councils.

It is true that the chairman has power to expel a member who disregards the rules of debate, or behaves irregularly, improperly or offensively or wilfully obstructs the council's business. But this is an unpleasant function to perform and very often such situations are avoided by adjourning meetings.

A meeting of the council may be adjourned by the chairman under the following circumstances; for want of quorum; when the council decides to adjourn by a majority vote; when the chairman decides to adjourn a meeting. Meetings properly convened should not be postponed. They may be adjourned.[73]

72. The Hindu, dated 5th April, 1933.
73 G.O No. 3297. L M. 27—8—1927.

All questions are decided by a majority vote, excepting the no-confidence motions. The method of voting is by show of hand. It is not compulsory that every one should vote on all questions. The chairman counts the hands showed for and against and declares the result. A poll may be demanded by any two councillors and the chairman is bound to take a poll and record the names of persons voting for and against. The chairman or the councillors should not take part in the discussion or voting of a question in which they are pecuniarly interested. A councillor has a right to dissent from any decision arrived at by a majority vote. The chairman should record the names of the councillors who express dissent and submit the minute of dissent received from the councillors to the Collector of the district together with his remarks if any. This right is intended to serve as a safety valve of the democratic process. For it is just possible that majorities actuated by partisan feelings may cause harm to a section of the people or involve the council in unnecessary expenditure. Under such circumstances a councillor may bring the facts to the notice of the Collector. If the facts warrant interference, the Collector may suspend the resolution of the council and move the Provincial Government for its cancellation. A perusal of the minutes of some of the councils shows[74] that a good number of dissents were recorded but the dissenters never submitted their minute of dissent to the Collector of the district.

The minutes of the Council proceedings should invariably be recorded in the minutes book maintained for the purpose. They should be recorded at the meeting itself.[75] For recording the minutes the chairman may take the assistance of some one. But the chairman should satisfy himself that the minutes as drawn up and entered in the minutes book are accurate before affixing his signature.[76] A copy of the minutes of every meeting must be forwarded to the Collector of the district for publication in the district gazette.[77] The proceedings of the special officer of a superseded council need not be published in the district gazette,[78] but a copy of it must be forwarded to the collector of the district as he is the supervising officer of the superseded councils.[79] With

74. Proceedings of the Municipal Councils for 1939-42. Nandyal and Bimilipatam.
75 G O No 4234. L.M. 26—9—1926.
76 G.O. No 329. L.A. 27—1—1939.
77. G O. No 1453 L M 30—4—1931
78. G.O. No. 4604. L M. 18—10—1934.
79. G.O. No. 3414. L.M. 25—7—1934.

the publication of the proceedings, the part to be played by the councils comes to an end. It is here that the executive comes into existence to carry out the resolutions of the council. To give effect to the resolutions of the council a network of departments is required, efficiently organised, well manned and properly regulated. We shall now see how the departments are organised and how they are controlled.

Departmental Organisation.—One of the most important aspects of municipal administration is the proper classification and allocation of functions to proper departments. After classification and allocation of functions, the activities of the various departments should be coordinated. These are the essential features of an efficient administrative organisation. A great deal of unprofitable expenditure in many of the councils is due to the failure to observe these principles. Even a well meaning officer cannot prevent leakages without a business like organisation. Therefore there should be a sufficient number of well organised departments, and functions which are similar in nature should be placed under the control of one department. The creation of too many departments is not desirable, for it leads to an enormous wastage of effort and energy. Nor is it desirable to have too few departments, for it may result in the neglect of one or other of the functions. For instance, if the Public Health Department is entrusted with the function of collection of taxes or with the removal of encroachments, we may be sure that some of the functions will suffer. But it is not the case with water supply and drainage, for though they perform two different functions they are so closely allied to one another that both of them may be placed under the control of one department. Similarly lighting and fire-fighting.

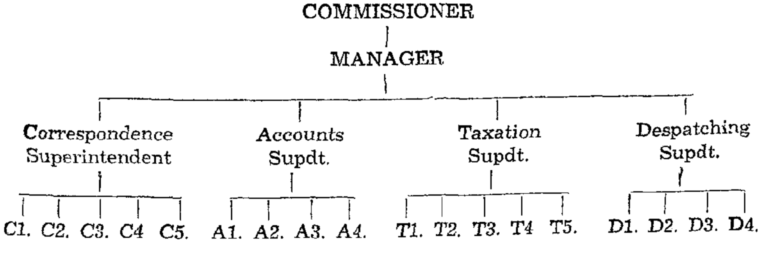
Next to organisation comes the coordination of functions of these departments. If efficiency and economy are the ends of all administrative activity, the administrative organisation should take the form of a pyramid with the executive officer at the apex, the labour force at the bottom and the departmental heads in between. In other words all the departments should be linked to one common centre.

It does not appear that these principles have been observed in the district municipalities during the period of dyarchy. First of all the functions were not classified. For instance, in some councils the Sanitary Inspectors were entrusted with engineering duties. The Municipal Health Officer was entrusted with the removal of encroachments which is the proper function of an engineer; in

some councils he was made responsible for the collection of certain fees which should have been entrusted to bill-collectors. This chaotic condition was brought to an end by the organisation of departments and the appointment of departmental heads.

Regarding the coordination of the activities of the various departments it must be said that no such thing exists at present. What we have at present is a number of pyramids without a peak. The executive officer is not at the apex of all the departments. The departmental heads are in no way responsible to him. We hear now and then differences of opinion between the executive officer and the departmental heads. It is therefore highly desirable that the entire administration of a municipality should be treated as unified enterprise and the executive officer is made responsible for its efficient administration.

Internal Organisation.—Now let us see how each department is organised. For this purpose let us take the general department. The commissioner is the head of this department. Below him there is the manager. The office is divided into a number of sections and each section has a superintendent assisted by a number of clerks. The manager is generally responsible for the supervision of the office work.



The internal organisation of the other departments is more or less the same. Therefore we need not go into that. We shall see how the general department functions. To have an idea of that visit any municipal office on any working day. You will find at 11 a m. clerks dropping in one after another and signing the attendance register. The manager must close the register within half an hour after the opening of office and note late attendance and absentees. He must then send the remittances of the previous day to the treasury. The business in office is generally dull till 1 p.m. At 1 p m. the commissioner arrives and the office bristles with activity, people going up and down the verandahs. Who comes there ? What brings them there ? A poor and helpless widow

with a grown-up child in ragged clothes drops in with a petition for the reduction of property tax. A second comes to report the birth or death that had occurred in his house; a third with a request for the withdrawal of prosecution filed against him for the non-payment of taxes; a fourth to receive the remission granted by the council; a fifth demanding the payment of money due to him. This goes on till 5 p.m. How are these various calls attended to?

Let us take a municipal office which receives the mail in the morning. The day's work commences with the opening of the mail. What does the mail contain? It may contain an order from the Government cancelling a resolution of the council or superseding it or removing or reverting or transferring the commissioner. It may contain a letter from the Director of Industries asking for certain information. It may contain a letter from the Inspector of Municipal Councils demanding an explanation for delaying the execution of certain work. The District Collector may ask in another letter to remove all the objectional encroachments. A rate-payer or an anonymous petition writer may write a letter attacking the character and conduct of a municipal subordinate. Excepting the letters received from the Government, all other letters are opened by the Commissioner. He may note instructions on the letters and send them to the office.

How are these papers accounted for? During the period under review two systems were in existence for the registration of papers. The first system is known as the MacLean system; the second the Tottenham system. The salient features of the MacLean system are all papers are entered in one register and they are given a serial number after disposal. Thus all the L. Disposals are given one number, the D. Disposals another and so on. This system existed in the district municipalities till 1938.[80] There was no honest trial of this system in a great majority of the municipalities. The papers received were not properly accounted for. The personal registers were maintained more for display than to account for the papers received. Several columns in the registers were not filled up. There was no systematic check of the personal registers nor were the disposals quick. The clerks attended office late in the afternoon and they left their seats very frequently.

80 In 1927 the Tottenham System was introduced in a modified form but it was never given an honest trial. The MacLean system was therefore continued

Thus municipal offices became proverbial for incompetency and inefficiency.[81]

It was just at this time that Mr. S. Ranganathan, I.C.S., was appointed as the Inspector of Municipal Councils. Dissatisfied with the working of the municipal offices he set himself to the task of improving the efficiency of the municipal offices. With that end in view, he introduced the Tottenham system with which he was familiar as district officer. A manual was drafted known as the 'District Board Office Manual' which is only an abridged edition of the district office manual.

Under this system the office is divided into convenient sections. The composition of each section is fixed. That is, the head of each section, the number of clerks that should compose each section and the subjects to be dealt with by each section. In bigger offices there is a fair-copying section. Each section is named by a letter. For instance, the correspondence section may be called the C section and the accounts section the A section and so on. After the division of office into sections an office order must be issued determining the functions to be performed by the several officers.

All the papers received must be sorted out and assigned to the section concerned. That is, papers relating to accounts section are marked as 'A'. Each paper is given a number, A paper may be marked thus 'A. 3. 144-45'. 'A' indicates the name of the section. '3' indicates the number of the clerk. '144' the number in the distribution register assigned to it. '45' the year in which the paper is received. The papers are delivered to the clerks concerned and as a token of having received them the initials are obtained in the distribution register. Immediately after their receipt each paper must be given a title. Supposing a letter is received from the Madras University Research Departments for the supply of certain information, the title for that communication may be as follows. 'Research—Madras University—Information requested'. The title is intended to give an idea of the paper received at a glance to the clerk and the checking officer. Then the papers should be entered in the 'personal register'. The register contains several columns. All the columns must be filled up. For, it is the information that is contained in these columns that gives an idea of the nature of action taken. Each clerk must maintain a personal

81. See the inspection notes of Rao Bahadur N Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Inspector of Municipal Councils for the years 1921-22.

register and some action must be taken on each paper within three days from the date of its receipt. In order to avoid delays the personal registers of the clerks are checked by the manager and the commissioner. At the beginning of every month every clerk must render an account of the number of papers received, the number disposed of and the number pending. If a paper is with a clerk without being disposed of for more than three months he must render reasons for the same and furnish a list of such papers. After the final reply or action is taken on a paper it should be given a disposal.

Disposals are of five kinds. 'R', 'D', 'L', 'N' and 'F'. R disposals are those that are to be retained for all time to come. D disposals are those that are to be retained for a period of 10 years and then destroyed. L disposals are those that are to be destroyed after a year. N disposals are those that are to be sent back in original with a reply. F disposals are those that are to be filed. The nature of disposal must be approved by the commissioner. The kind of papers that may be assigned R disposal are generally related to the acquisition of property or sale of property or about establishment. The nature of disposal must be entered in the last column of the personal register against the current number of the paper concerned, and in the distribution register and obtain the signature of the Record Keeper as a token of having received it.

The Record Keeper must maintain the records properly. He must keep the record room in a tidy manner. He must index all the R and D disposals separately. The records ripe for destruction should be listed and submitted to the commissioner for approval. They should be destroyed in the presence of the commissioner.

Mr. Ranganathan witnessed not only the introduction of the District Board Office Manual in the district municipalities but also the end of all confusion and chaos prevailing in the municipal offices. The masterful personality that he is with enormous drive, he exercised strict control over the municipalities. His name was a terror to the municipal staff. The system introduced by Mr. Ranganatham has increased the efficiency of the municipal office. Attendance of clerks is regular and disposals are quick. Municipal administration is slowly gaining the confidence of the public.

THE FUTURE OF SALEM IRON ORES

By

V. Kalyanasundaram

South India has had the distinction of having been the area where Iron smelting by modern methods was first attempted in India. The Porto Novo Iron and Steel company started about the year 1830 passed through various vicissitudes before it had to be finally closed down in 1867 ; and so also were the others started on the initiative of one Mr. Josiah Marshall Heath of the Madras Civil Service, who was so firmly convinced of the possibility of manufacturing bar iron (for export to England) out of the local supplies of iron ore that he decided to resign a lucrative job in the government and launched the scheme which was finally doomed to fail.

In South India, in common with many other parts of India, iron smelting had been an indigenous industry of fairly wide distribution as testified to by the wide distribution of slag heaps. The indigenous smelter who prepared wrought iron and in some cases even steel—locally called wootz—made use of the fairly widespread occurrences of iron ores and smelted them with locally available charcoal. But the manufacture of iron and steel by modern methods unlike early indigenous iron smelting can be undertaken only in certain parts where the ores occur both in quantity and quality. The Salem District of the Madras Presidency is one which, fortunately, is favourably situated with regard to a variety of factors that make possible the development of a fair-sized iron industry.

Magnetite, in the form of quartz-magnetite schists, is of fairly common and wide distribution in the south and reaches a remarkable development in the Salem district and in the contiguous parts of the adjacent districts of Trichinopoly, North and South Arcot. Large deposits are found in isolated but relatively closely spaced areas in the region. They had formed the basis of a flourishing indigenous iron smelting industry engaged in the manufacture of steel of excellent quality—a product which, under the name of wootz, was in great demand in countries far and near. Like many other indigenous industries this one also, unable to face competition from the modern mass production centres in the

West gradually declined and finally disappeared. The iron ores of Salem also formed the basis of the first attempts at manufacturing iron by modern methods with the help of plants established at Porto Novo, Pullampatti and Tiruvannamalai and consequently had attracted the attention of a number of geologists. Holland, who examined the deposits at Kanjamalai in the nineties of the last century was the first to give us detailed analyses of the ores—analyses which revealed the excellence of their quality due to their very low phosphorous content. After Holland the utilisation of the deposits had been studied by a number of competent people, both official and non official, but nothing developed out of them. With the completion of the Mettur project, the industrial potentialities of the Kanjamalai iron ores were examined and reported upon by Dr. V. S. Dubey and Mr. C. Karunakaran of the Benares Hindu University. Most recently the Madras Government had the area examined in some detail by the Geological Survey of India.

All the known occurrences of iron ore in the Salem and Trichinopoly districts have been examined, but as the area was not mapped in detail, it is quite possible that in addition to the deposits reported upon a few more ore bands may come to light as a result of systematic survey and mapping.

The distribution of the reserves of iron ore in the region is given in the following table :—[1]

1.	Kanjamalai	.. 54·6 m. tons
2.	Godumalai	.. 12·5 " "
3.	Perumamalai	.. 10·5 " "
4.	Attur Valley	.. 11·7 " "
5.	Chitteri Hills	.. 55·4 " "
6.	Thirthamalai	.. 47·5 " "
7.	Namagiripetta	.. 9·5 " "
8.	Belukkurichi	.. 12·6 " "
9.	Kondamanayakanur	.. 11·8 " "
10.	Kollaimalai	.. 6·5 " "
11.	Villiyappanpatti—Tattayangarpettai	.. 67·5 " "
12.	Pachchaimalai	.. 11·1 " "
		311·2 " "

1. The iron ore deposits of parts of Salem and Trichinopoly districts—by M S Krishnan, M A, Ph.D., and Mr. N. K. N. Iyengar, M.A., Geological Survey of India. G.O. No. 4832, Development, dated 11th November, 1944.

The above table gives a total of 310 m. tons as the reserves of ore in this region. The reserves have been estimated on the assumption that the ores extend down to a depth of 100′ below the surface of the outcrop; but as some of the ore bodies form conspicuous hills rising several hundred feet above the level of the surrounding plains they must contain a much larger reserve of ore and in actual working will yield much more than what the above table will lead us to expect. The table above refers only to the better grades of ore that occur in the districts of Salem and Trichinopoly. When we remember that there are ore bodies developed in parts of North and South Arcot districts and that there is a prospect of fresh lodes coming to light as a result of systematic survey, the prospects of establishing an iron industry in this region are certainly bright; and when the poorer grades of ore are taken into consideration the prospects are brighter still.

The ore in all cases is magnetite in character and occurs associated with quartz either in the form of bands, lenses or grains. The banded variety is the most common and constitutes the bulk of the ore body—a fortunate circumstance. The bands consist of alternate layers of magnetite and quartz varying in thickness from 1/10″ to 1/2″ and more and averaging about 1/4″ and "the magnetite and the quartz content may be taken as roughly equal by volume". The ore in the raw state is rather poor in iron content but by crushing and magnetic concentration, the percentage of metallic iron in the concentrate could be increased to about or more than 50%. The granular variety will not lend itself to this treatment as the crushing to render possible the separation of the gangue from the ore will have to be done to a greater degree of fineness than in the other types of occurrence and the ore will then have been reduced to such a fine state that it may seriously interfere with the concentration and it will also be not quite suited to blast furnace technique as at present employed.

The geographical location of the ore bodies—especially those that have been examined in detail—is also such as makes them easily accessible. The south-eastern base of Kanjamalai is within a couple of miles of Virapandi road railway station on the broad gauge main line of the South Indian Railway, while Godumalai and the neighbouring ore bodies are similarly situated with reference to the metre gauge line connecting Salem with Cuddalore via Vriddhachalam. The situation of the ore bodies at a certain height above the level of the surrounding country facilitates the haulage of the ore down by means of a gravity incline to a termi-

nal station situated alongside the existing railway line whence the ore can be easily railed to the smelting centre. The other bodies in Kollaimalai, Talamalai, Kalrayans etc., though not alongside a railway line as the other two are, are yet within comparatively easy reach of the existing railway lines, and in addition, the area is served by a well developed system of roads. The location of the ore bodies—physical and regional—makes them easily accessible and capable of cheap assembly at the work spot.

Other Raw Materials

Fuel will be referred to later.

Limestone.—Large deposits of high grade limestone have been located near Sankaridrug.[2] In the small area that has been surveyed in detail by Dr. M. S. Krishnan, the quality appears to be very good—out of a total of 65 samples analysed only about 10 have a $CaCO_3$ content below 90%. The extent in depth of these limestones has not been ascertained, but even within the small area of 3½ miles surveyed the quantity available within a depth of 10′ has been estimated to be about 100,000 tons. Recent surveys have revealed the extension of the limestones over a very much larger area than that worked on in detail.[3] In comparison with the Tatas, therefore, the region around Salem will be in a very much better position as regards flux.

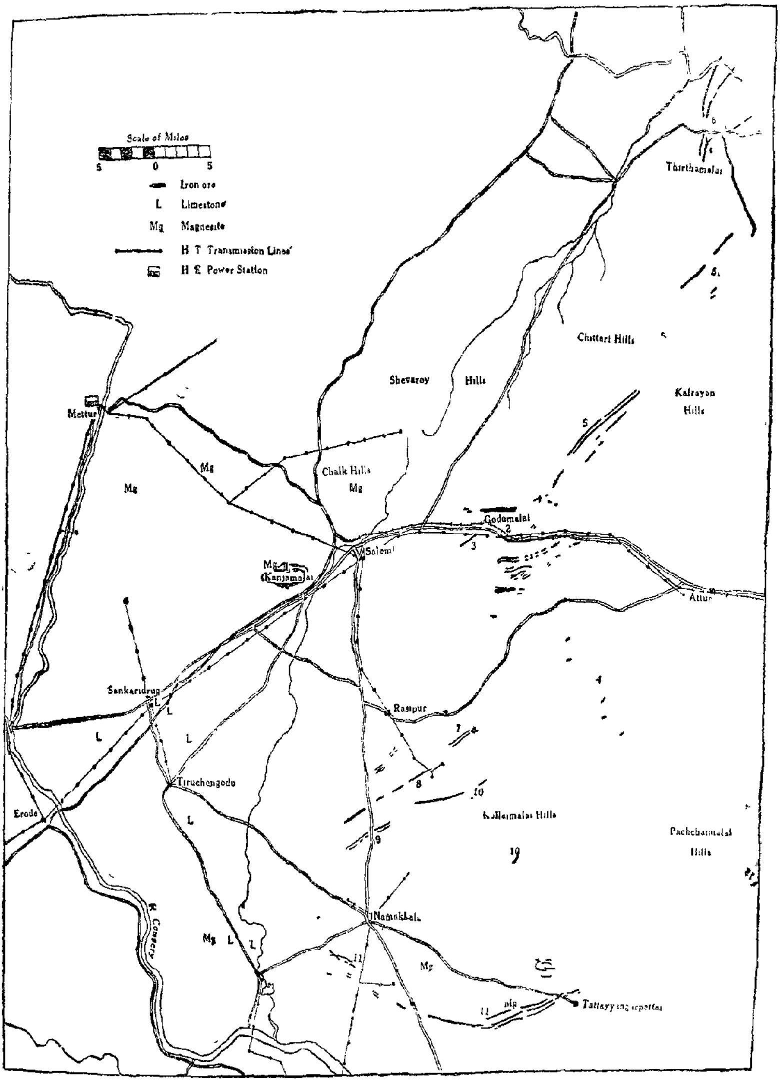
Refractories

Magnesite.—Magnesite of excellent quality and in abundance occurs in the Chalk hills near Salem. Reputedly one of the finest

2. A series of nearly parallel bands of crystalline limestone stretches in a N W -S.E. direction from Manjakkalpatti through Annadanapatti to Kolikkalnatham and further S.E to a point 3 miles due east of Tiruchengode. Dr. M. S. Krishnan with an assumed depth from the surface of 10′ estimates that there are about 100,000 tons of limestone available in the area surveyed. Rec. G.S.I. Vol. 77, Professional paper 7.

3. Note on some crystalline limestone deposits in the Tiruchengodu and Namakkal Taluks, Salem District, N K. N. Aiyangar, G.O. No. 817, Development Report, dated 28th February, 1945 Deposits of limestone have been met with in parts of Tiruchengodu and Namakkal taluks and have been examined in detail by Mr. N. K. N. Aiyangar of the Geological Survey of India Taking the deposits which appear to be good externally and with an assumed depth of 10′ he has estimated the reserves at about 640,000 tons. This may however be very much of an underestimate as quarries and well sections indicate the extension of the deposit to more than 30′ and (2) also because of the fact that the full aerial extent of the deposits is not clear due to weathering.

DISTRIBUTION OF IRON ORE, LIMESTONE AND MAGNESITE



(Based on the report by Dr M. S. Krishnan and Mr. N. K. N. Aiyangar)

deposits of its kind in the world, very little of the Salem magnesite finds a use in India. Besides the Chalk hills of Salem, magnesite has been noticed in a number of other localities within the district but none of such size and quality as the former ones.

Silica.—Pure Silica—quartz is fairly widespread. The well-known white elephant rocks of Salem belong to this type. Besides, quartz veins are of fair abundance in the neighbourhood. These will provide the silica for the manufacture of firebricks and for ferro-silicon.

Bauxite.—A good and fairly large sized deposit of the mineral occurs in the Shevaroys.

Kyanite and *Sillimanite* have not been observed in the region but can be easily imported from other parts of India. Other refractories like Fireclay which do not occur in the region may easily be assembled from outside.

Chromite.—Chromite is required both for its refractory qualities and for its metallic content-Chromium for the preparation of Chromium Steel. Chromite occurs near Kadakola and Tumkur, in the Mysore State, in Bezwada and in Baluchistan (Zhob and Pishan valleys). It also occurs associated with dunites in Kanjamalai and quite recently, the progress of geological mapping in the Salem district, by bringing to light the occurrences, at places other than Kanjamalai, of ultra-basic rocks of the type with which chromite is usually associated, indicates a strong possibility of fresh and rich deposits of this valuable mineral being discovered in the region.

Modifying Metals

Manganese.—Manganese is one of the most important basic elements that enters in the metallurgy of Steel and most varieties of Steel contain a certain amount of this metal. Manganese occurs in large quantities in various parts of India and with reference to Salem iron ores the nearest deposit occurs in Mysore—Shimoga District—and the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency. It could also be assembled from Vizagapatam by sea cum rail route.

Tungsten.—Small deposits of tungsten occur in the Singhbhum District and recently Vanadium also has been located in the same neighbourhood. But there are no deposits of these two metals anywhere near Salem district and there are no deposits of either

Nickel or Cobalt. But these metals, being fairly valuable in their character, may be imported.

Molybdenum, Titanium and Aluminium are other metals that enter in the metallurgy of iron. Titanium in the form of Ilmenite occurs in the coastal sands of Travancore, and Aluminium is a metal fairly widespread in India and its manufacture from its ore-bauxite—has recently been started in India. The numerous quartz veins and pegmatite dykes of the region will have to be surveyed in greater detail to discover possible lodes of metals like tantalum tungsten etc., which find a use in a modern steel works.

Fuel.—The chief drawback of the region is the absence of coal, the most important industrial fuel at the present day. While high grade iron ores are of fairly wide distribution in India, Coal, the backbone of industry and particularly essential in the metallurgy of iron has a restricted distribution in the country. The coal fields nearest to the district are in the Godavari valley in the Godavari District, but the potentialities of this field are not fully known yet. Beyond, in the Hyderabad State are the developed coal fields of Kothagudium and Singareni, but the coal from both these fields unfortunately is, according to the present standards unsuited to the manufacture of metallurgical coke. It is therefore of no value to the prospective iron industry of Salem even if the factor of distance were to be overlooked. One will therefore have to look to the Damodar Valley coal fields—the Raniganj and Jheria fields for supplies of this vital commodity—Coking coal. The distance is certainly great but for at least part of the distance—from Calcutta to Madras, the coal can be water borne and therefore will not be so costly as when it is railed the entire distance from Bengal to Salem. Fuel was no problem for the indigenous iron smelter as he used charcoal which was available in some amount locally and as his requirements of the fuel were very limited. Mass production of iron by modern methods on the other hand will not be successful if it is not assured of a constant and plentiful supply of cheap fuel—coal or charcoal, for every two tons of ore will require a ton of coke or charcoal of the right grade. The fuel problem in the region will therefore be a serious one. Nature, however, while unkind in the distribution of coal, has been favourable in another respect. Water power potentialities are certainly not poor and the government with wise foresight has developed some of the sites where natural heads were available as at Pykara, and Papanasam and also by creating artificial heads as

at Mettur where an irrigation project has been suitably designed to provide power also.

At present Pykara, Mettur and part of the Papanasam projects are functioning. When Pykara and Mettur alone were functioning the power made available was more or less fully utilised without leaving much of a margin of surplus for any new industrial undertakings demanding power. With the completion of the Papanasam project and the proposed taking over by the State of the thermal Station at Madras, the pressure on Mettur section will be substantially reduced to make energy available for electro-metallurgical operations. The prospects will be certainly most assuring if the Moyair project and/or the Periyar project were to be taken up for construction.[4]

Coke or Charcoal in the smelting of iron has a double function, first as a reducer of the ore to the metallic condition and secondly as a source of heat. It is not possible to judge accurately the relative importance of the two functions of coke or charcoal, but reduction is the major function and accounts for probably 50 to 60 per cent of the fuel used. If, therefore, the fuel were relieved, partly at least, of its heating function fuel consumption may be reduced. Once before such a reduction was effected by the introduction of the hot blast in the place of the cold blast and now hydro-electric energy offers some scope in this direction. The reduced demands for fuel that will arise consequent on the introduction of electric smelting may be met either by a proper utilisation of the forests of the neighbourhood for the manufacture of charcoal, or coke may be imported from Bengal coal fields by sea cum rail route. Charcoal will be preferable to coke as a blast furnace fuel as the quality of the resulting metal will be superior.

4. The Madras Government have planned to take up the following schemes (classed as 'Special Priority' in their five year plan) of power development—schemes which, but for the war, would have been completed:—

(i) An extension of 25,000 K.W. to Pykara.
(ii) Linking the Madras-thermal station with the Mettur Hydro-electric system.
(iii) Adding to the generating capacity of the existing Papanasam Hydro-electric power station.
(iv) Provision for the ground work for the Tungabhadra and the Machkand Hydro-electric projects.
(v) A relief scheme for Pykara by making use of its tail waters at Moyair Schemes 1-3 and 5 will when brought to function make available enough power for the purpose.

The forests may not be so rich or may not regenerate so quickly as those of the Malnad portion of Mysore that supplies fuel for the Mysore Iron works at Bhadravathi, but with proper planning and scientific development it may yet be possible for them to supply the fuel requirements of a not very large sized iron industry.[5]

Electricity can be profitably used only when energy is available at a very cheap rate—say of the order of 1/10 of an anna per unit. The present minimum rate at which electricity is offered in bulk is ·3 anna per unit when the consumption exceeds a million units. Electro-metallurgical industry is one where the load will be a constant factor and the electricity department will certainly show some concessions. For the Tea Estates energy is offered at ·45 annas for the first 5,000 units and all consumption of energy for firing, withering, air conditioning, steam raising, etc., between 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. is specially metered and charged at ·2 annas per unit. Iron industry has a better claim to expect special concessions, and as the demand will be very heavy and constant in character, the industry can claim specially reduced rates ; and such a condition is envisaged in the hydro-electric power tariff—"rates for railway electrification, isolated installations, electro-chemical factories, or special loads will be arranged by negotiation". The initiation of an aluminium industry in the South—an industry whose success depends very much upon the availability of cheap electric power—gives more than a reasonable amount of hope in this direction. Further, as the State is the producer and supplier of power, concessions in tariffs will be one of the best forms in which the State can support the industry—a key one.

Electric smelting besides being suited to regional conditions has also another claim for consideration. Any attempt that will stop with producing pig iron will be an uncertain paying proposition. Pig iron is just a raw material for the manufacture of a host of other finished and semi-finished products in steel. The most economical way of manufacturing steel is to have it under the same

5. The forests of Salem were worked by the forest department with a view to supplying the South Indian Railway (then Madras Railway) with fuel needed for running The supply began in 1892 with a contract for 200 tons a month and this was gradually increased to 2,200 tons a month in 1899—Salem District Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 252. This was before the department had adopted any working plans. By the systematic adoption of working plans it must be possible for the forests to supply a moderate sized iron plant with charcoal.

roof as the blast furnace producing pig iron and produce steel in one straight process. The advantage of this method is an obvious saving of fuel or other sources of energy which may otherwise be required if a straight process were not adopted. The second advantage will be that this centre as a producer of steel, will be better able to stand competition from other sources than as a mere producer of pig iron, for which unfortunately, it does not have such a favourable combination of factors as the iron belt of Orissa or even Bhadravathi (relatively small amount of iron ore and the absence of coal). The advantage will be greater if the region were to specialise in the manufacture of special steels. A machine tool industry will be the most ideal for this region for several reasons. (1) It will be a new branch of industry which needs development on a great scale: the war has exposed our weakness in this respect; (2) Being small but specialised articles, they will have a relatively high value in proportion to their bulk and so will be able to stand transport over long distances; (3) Being a new branch of industry it may not have a number of competitors; (4) Suitable raw materials for the manufacture of ferro-alloys like ferro-chrome ferro-silicon and ferro-titanium etc., are either available locally or can be assembled without difficulty.

Electric smelting is particularly suited to the manufacture of special steels, as by using electricity, the chemical and physical processes in the steel furnace can be more accurately timed and controlled than is possible in the case of the other methods. Some of the modifying elements like Chromium, Aluminium and Silicon are near at hand, while others like Manganese, Tungsten and Titanium can be easily assembled from other parts of India if not from outside India. During the initial stages the industry may not be able to offer competitive prices against the products from other regions of long establishment, but in the long run it will certainly be able to hold its own as it will be based on hydro-electric energy —a cheaper source of energy while those of the iron ore belt are based on thermal electricity. The disadvantages may be eliminated partly or wholly by the government either in the shape of concessions in electric tariffs or railway tariffs or both—at least in the earlier stages until the industry has become well set and begun to earn for itself.

One other advantage of electric smelting in the manufacture of steel is that the process is certainly more elastic, in a sense than the other processes of steel manufacture. Scrap can be used in addition to pig iron and the industry can engage itself in the

manufacture of steels and special alloy steels using locally produced pig iron and also scrap assembled for the purpose.

The establishment of an industry here will mean a better regional distribution of the industry than hitherto. Except for Bhadravathi, there are at present no iron industrial centres in South India, and in a country of the size of India this is naturally a bad type of distribution. When established therefore, it will satisfy a long felt want in the region and will be able to command the market.

LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY

Two alternative sites may suggest themselves—Mettur and Salem. Mettur has the advantage over Salem in regard to water supply but location of the industry near Mettur may entail break of bulk in the transport of the ores, especially those from the Godumalai region which lies on the metre gauge line, while the Salem-Mettur line is of the Broad Gauge system. Locating it near Salem has the advantage of an easier assemblage of the main raw materials—ore and limestone, but there may be some difficulty with regard to water and this may be got over by the construction of artificial reservoirs at suitable places to impound rain water or by damming the *Mani Mukta Nadi*. The choice of the place will, therefore, have to be done after evaluating the relative advantages of the two places by taking into account all the factors.

The prospects seem to be rosy especially if a firm of the standing of Tatas, who have years of experience in the technique of the manufacture of iron and steel were to undertake the scheme. Being the premier institution it may not like competition from other sources—rival concerns—in this part of India, and the best way of ensuring the markets here is for them to undertake the task.

Conclusion.—The geographical factors in the Salem District seem to be favourable for the starting of a moderate-sized iron plant for producing pig iron to be processed into steel and special alloy steels. The pessimistic outlook so far maintained by all concerned should be given up and a start will have to be made in the direction of developing the iron ore resources by organising a detailed survey of the region with regard to potentialities of all minerals needed for such a development.

Supplement to the Madras University Journal

PRINCIPAL MILLER ENDOWMENT LECTURES 1941-1942

By

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GOD AND PROGRESS I

BY

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Introductory :—I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by this University in selecting me to deliver the Miller Lectures for the current year. This endowment commemorates the most distinguished and the best loved missionary leader of an earlier day, who in his own personal life and in his work fulfilled to an eminent degree a largeness of outlook, a breadth of sympathy and human understanding, an optimism of faith in the purposes of creation and an abiding trust in the possibilities of humanity achieving its goal. May the spirit of the great christian leader of South India and that of the worthy founder of this endowment, both of whom have in the past adorned the Vice-Chancellor's chair in this University, continue to shed their beneficent influence on the purpose and progress of this University.

The Endowment prescribes a subject dealing with the exposition of the 'Inner Meaning of Human History as disclosing the one Increasing Purpose that runs through the Ages'. To fulfil in however inadequate a manner the intention of this theme would require a review of the historical development of humanity, an examination of the concept of Progress and Purpose of life, a formulation of the probable line of future development, and a general statement of the purposes of creation and the process of the Universe. Obviously it will not be possible to achieve these objects in even a cursory fashion in the course of these two lectures. Further as my learned predecessors in this Endowment series have already dealt with several of the aspects of these questions, I intend to reexamine the same concepts from a slightly different standpoint. In doing so I shall have to pass in review some of the interpretations in order to isolate certain aspects which require emphasis and reconstruction. I propose to adopt a line of inquiry in which the Idea of Progress will be sought to be elucidated from the different ideas of God that have been held

from time to time in Philosophy and Religion. It may be possible to discover an increasing approximation of the Idea of God to a deep Spiritual Reality and this same approximation may be seen to characterise Progress, human and cosmic. The meaning of human progress is to be sought, according to the present interpretation, in an increasing spiritualisation, even as the truest conception of God is the fulfilment of the highest spirituality.

The Idea of Progress :—It is necessary to examine the Idea of Progress. Broadly stated this idea implies a faith that civilisation is moving and will move in a desirable direction. It is in the nature of a postulate, depending more on an act of faith than on any rational proof. Studying the history of mankind it is held that an onward tendency is discernible. This is certainly true of material growth, of the increase of invention, of the application of scientific knowledge to the improvement of the standards of life. But the chief value of the Idea is not in understanding the past so much as in an indication of the future. The concept of Progress derives its power to help us by envisaging the future.

In European thought the Idea of Progress[1] is a late arrival. The Early Greeks believed in world-cycles. Their doctrine of Moira emphasized a fixed order in the universe, according to which human nature does not alter. In the Dark and Middle Ages of Europe, events were believed to be decided by divine intervention. The doctrine of original sin and interference by providence put out of court any moral advance of humanity towards perfection. Bodin, the noted French thinker, at the dawn of the modern period, believed in the law of oscillation—"rise followed by fall and fall by rise"—but through the series of oscillations he felt he could trace a gradual ascent. This interesting thinker, according to Bury's analysis,[2] contributed three essential ideas, which made possible the concept of progress :—he rejected the theory of degeneration; he claimed that his own age was in some respects superior to the great age of classical antiquity; he conceived of the world as a universal state and suggested that the various races, by their peculiar aptitudes and qualities, contribute to the common good of the whole. This idea of solidarity of peoples is an important element of the doctrine of Progress. With Bacon and Descartes the

1. In this and the following paragraphs I am indebted to J. B. Bury's Idea of Progress.

2. Ibid p. 43-44.

modern note is definitely sounded. Bacon held that the end of science is its usefulness to man, and that as knowledge grows from more to more, happiness on earth can be secured by co-operation among mankind. Descartes asserted the supremacy of Reason. A rational order with its invariable laws of Nature postulated by him struck at the root of the Age of Authority that preceded him and guaranteed the indefinite progress of science. The emphasis on the value of life on Earth and the contribution of science to human life provided the final condition for the emergence of the Idea of Progress. Leibnitz saw the merit of the Universe in its potentialities of development towards perfection through infinite time. The achievements of science in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries converted the mind of man to a faith in Progress. "Man's career on earth", it had to be shown, "had not been a chapter of accidents which might lead anywhere or nowhere, but is subject to discoverable laws which have determined its general route and will secure his arrival at the desirable place.[3] The Humanism of the 18th century gave further emphasis to progress. Diderot, the French Encyclopaedist says,[4] "if ever we banish man or the thinking and contemplative being from above the surface of the earth, this pathetic and sublime spectacle of nature becomes no more than a scene of melancholy and silence ....It is the presence of man that gives its interest to the existence of other beings....Man is the single term from which we ought to set out". "When the true place of earth was shown and man found himself in a tiny planet attached to one of innumerable star worlds, his cosmic importance could no longer be maintained. Displaced along with his home from the centre of things, he discovers a new means of restoring his self-importance; he interprets his humiliation as a deliverance. Finding himself in an insignificant island floating in the immensity of space, he decides that he is at last master of his own destinies; he can fling away the old equipment of final causes, original sin and the rest; he can construct his own chart and bound by no cosmic scheme he need take the universe into account only in so far as he judges it to be to his own profit....anthropocentrism is restored in a new and effective form".[5]

3. Ibid p. 144.
4. Ibid p. 159.
5. Ibid p. 160-161.

The rise of socialism emphasized the doctrine of the possibility of definitely moulding characters of men by laws and institutions; it "laid a foundation on which the theory of perfectibility of humanity could be raised".[6] The 19th century was the hey-day of the doctrine of Progress. In the hands of the German Idealist Philosophers, Kant, Fichte and Hegel, the doctrine of progressive development was established as a category of thought, almost as certain as the idea of causation and helped to disseminate the notion of an 'increasing purpose' in history. Herder held that "the flower of humanity captive still in its germ, will blossom one day into the true form, like unto God, in a state of which no terrestrial man can imagine the greatness and the majesty".[7] Kant saw in the human instincts and passions, ambition, love of honour and avarice, forces of discord ordained by nature in order to develop out of them the full realisation of rational purpose in a Universal Civil Society founded on Political justice'. Fichte analysed the process of the world to consist of 'an indefinite approximation to an 'unattainable idea', the realm of reason, being gradually realised as more and more freedom is attained'. Hegel formulated the conception that the Universe and History are the process and description by which Spirit comes to consciousness of itself. In the hands of a series of French writers in the earlier half of the 19th century the Idea of Progress was made the fundamental idea of civilisation and human history. The French Philosopher, Comte, built up his System of Positive Philosophy round this Idea of Progress and determined its laws:—"men first attempted to explain natural phenomena by the operation of imaginary deities; then sought to interpret them by abstractions, and finally came to see that they could only be understood by scientific methods—observation and experiment"[8]—these are the theological, the metaphysical and positive stages. Man's history, according to Comte, is essentially a history of his opinions. Added to this, the spectacular advance of scientific discovery and mechanical invention encouraged a faith in an "indefinite increase of man's power over nature". The general material progress of the 19th century was the main stay of this doctrine. Tennyson in his dreams of the Parliament of Man and the Federation of the World, and Victor Hugo in his conception of the 'magic ship of man's destiny

6 Ibid p. 167.
7 Ibid p. 241.
8 Ibid p. 292.

compassing a terrestrial order in harmony with the whole universe', gave poetic force to the doctrine.

Summarising this brief survey we can see that three forces have given emphasis to the Idea of Progress in the modern era beginning with the 17th century—namely—the phenomenal advance of scientific discovery and invention, the dominance of rationalism, and the ever growing struggle for civic and religious liberty. The modern world emancipating itself from the tyranny of traditional authority became seized with the passion for liberty. As Bury puts it,[9] "the old scheme of the universe had been shattered by the victory of the new Astronomy and the prestige of Providence paling before the majesty of the immutable laws of Nature". Man began to see a new significance in his earthly home as the scene of rational hopes and their fulfilment. The apotheosis of man and a certain faith in the realisation of human destiny became the lay religion of the 19th century.

The doctrine of Evolution and the advance of biological knowledge seemed to reinforce the Idea of Progress. The concept of Evolution is one of those comprehensive generalisations, like Relativity, Value and Emergence, that have served as an useful intellectual tool. Most of the natural sciences have been dominated by this concept. The genetic method of study which tries to analyse every subject by its roots, instead of by its fruits, has played a prominent part in recent and contemporary thought. Herbert Spencer exalted the idea of Evolution into a philosophy and sought to make it the master key to the interpretation of all experience. In the hands of Bergson and Alexander, this conception was still further reinforced by being made the basis of a metaphysical theory of Reality, where endless progress, urged forward by duration and emergence seems to be implicit in the cosmos itself.

Dean Inge, in his brilliant book, 'God and the Astronomers', as also in his Romanes Lecture of 1920, subjects the Idea of Progress to a searching criticism and comes to the conclusion that it is an exploded myth. His chief objection is taken from the evidence of Astronomical Physics. The second law of Thermodynamics known also as the Law of Entropy is conclusive, according to him, against any faith in unending progress. For, according

9. Ibid p. 348.

to this law, the destiny of this world is fixed, to end in the doom of destruction. The degradation of Energy in a unilinear irreversible direction points to the inevitable dissolution of this solar system. "Both the substantiality of this Universe and its indestructibility have now been challenged....the whole universe is steadily and irrevocably running down like a clock. The inevitable end, says Jeans, is annihilation, of life, of consciousness, of memory, even of the elements of matter itself. That is the doom of all that exists".[10] From this 'most certain of scientific truths' important consequences follow. The hopes of unending progress, which formed the lay religion of the 19th century, are shattered. The creation of this particular universe is after all one finite purpose, having a beginning and an end, among the possibly infinite number of God's purposes. A decisive blow is struck against that particular type of pantheistic conception of God, according to which, God is wholly immanent with the world, growing, evolving, still becoming. Modernist philosophy both neo-Realist and neo-Idealist as well as the pan-cosmism arising out of Naturalism are shattered, according to Dean Inge, by the undoubted law of Degradation of Energy, which points to a definite end in time to the world-process. To use his own vivid phrase, "A God under sentence of death at however distant a date does not possess the attributes which religion holds to belong to the idea of God".[11]

Dean Inge says that the attempt to erect progress in time into a cosmic principle has failed and must fail; "That the doom of our present world-order is fixed....that all religions and philosophies which depend on any other view of the destiny of the cosmos are becoming untenable".[12] In his Romanes lecture he asserts that the idea of a single purpose in the universe is untenable. Even with regard to the fact of progress he examines the present condition of the species and finds that the modern man is no improvement on the ancient even with regard to the physical body. On the question of moral improvement, want of opportunity or temptation may make modern man appear more humane or less brutal than the ancient. The atrocities during the last war, as well as the present war, were eye-openers in this direction. While admitting that the accumulated experience of mankind and the

10. God and the Astronomers p. 8.
11. Ibid p. VII.
12. Ibid p. 56.

wonderful discoveries are of great value, they do not, according to Dean Inge, constitute real progress in human nature itself. On the other hand, increased knowledge is liable to be turned to man's own destruction. In the words of Sir Alfred Ewing, 'the command of nature has been put into man's hands before he knows how to command himself".[13] Disraeli said, "The European talks of progress because by the aid of a few scientific discoveries, he has mistaken comfort for civilisation".[14] The increasing complexity which, Herbert Spencer imagines, is the sign of development may itself be disproved. In several respects a simplification is more surely a sign of progress. "Some species have survived by becoming more complex; others, like the whole tribe of parasites, by becoming more simple. On the whole, perhaps, the parasites have had the best of it". (Dean Inge : Idea of Progress). On all these grounds, Dean Inge dismisses the idea of unending temporal progress.

Biological evolution is believed by some thinkers to have given emphasis to the ideas of Purpose and Progress. It can at best give us only an idea of the line of development in the past. But it cannot be erected into a regulative principle with regard to the future. Julian Huxley sees the meaning of Evolution in the bringing into existence of an all-round specialization. In spite of waste and in spite of innumerable blind alleys, Evolution has achieved Progress. With the coming into existence of man with his power of consciousness, Huxley believes that deliberate purpose could be substituted for the blind sifting of selection; and change could be speeded up ten thousand fold. Dean Inge remarks truly that the theory of evolution is legitimate when applied to certain parts of the universe such as the recent history of the species to which we belong. "To assume that this local and temporary phenomenon is the *primary* law of the macrocosm is the extreme of provincialism".[15] Quoting Sheen, he says, "The Modern God of evolution is nothing but the transfer without correction of biological categories to the spiritual world.....There is no more reason for applying biology to God than there is for applying music or chemistry or even mining engineering".[16]

13. Quoted from Miller Lectures by Rev. Mackenzie, p. 36.
14. God and the Astronomers p. 171.
15. Joad: Philosophy for our Times p 223.
16. Inge: God and the Astronomers p. 113. Ibid.

Further emphasis on the idea of evolution as the explanation of the universe has been laid by the two notable philosophical systems of Bergson and Alexander. Bergson transforms evolution into a creative principle which is a mystical idea expressed as a life force or an upward drive which tends to go forward indefinitely in a particular direction. All the higher forms of life are thrown up by the creative effort to which evolution is due. According to Alexander, as the process of evolution goes on in the primordial base of Space-Time, various things emerge like matter, life, personality, value and Deity. Each of these emerging qualities represent a distinct level and presupposes the levels that have gone before. Each level is distinguished by a certain integration, homogeneity and definiteness. Alexander attributes this emergence to a nisus or thirst in the universe to produce higher levels; the latest of these is to be Deity.

Both these philosophies can only make evolution give us the method which has governed the coming into existence of organisms in the past. If we try to make the concept of biological evolution a cosmic principle instead of a merely useful scientific theory of limited application, we encounter the difficulty of measuring temporal change against an eternal background. We have no warrant according to Dean Inge for assuming a single purpose in the Universe. The Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce grows eloquent over the idea of evolutionary progress. Reality, according to him, displays itself as a continual growing upon itself. The infinity of our desire is a proof of the infinity of progress. The plant dreams of the animal, the animal of man, and man of superman. Dean Inge can see nothing in this hymn except delirious nonsense. He is quite convinced that we cannot with any confidence trace the hand of God in the development of merely material civilisation. History as a whole cannot be said to lay bare any divine purpose. The purposes of God in history, says Dean Inge, are finite, local, temporal and for the most part individual. Their virtue consists in pointing beyond themselves to the world of ideal forms. (God and the Astronomers). The late Rev. Soderblom, a distinguished Swedish Religious thinker, asserts that it is no longer possible to believe in Evolution. "The assured belief that the world will become better of itself was a false doctrine doomed to be swept away by the iron besom of the world-agony. Before the deluge, during the good times......Humanity lived in a happy belief that the world moved forward of itself, men believed that the whole of our civilisation was on its way to paradise when

they suddenly found themselves in hell. Their confidence in development received an irreparable shock. Evolution was an idol that had not kept the promises it had made".[17] The only thing, according to him, that, in the long run, can give a meaning to our endeavours and save our civilisation from ending in uncertainties or despair is the prophetic communion which sees God and his revelation in the course of events.

It is necessary to consider the cognate idea of Time and its significance to the concepts of Progress and Purpose. Ultimate Reality has to be understood in contrast to spatial and temporal relations. Space and Time are the media through which purpose and progress can be realised. A philosophy which tries to picture the world without the help of the concept of time ends in destroying the idea of progress. The great idealistic tradition in philosophy has always pictured time, as "the life of the soul as it moves from one manifestation of life to another".[18] Philosophies like Bergson's and Alexander's which try to erect time into an absolute value are compelled by necessity to 'smuggle in some kind of nisus, an entirely mystical principle, which has no place in the idea of becoming'. This clearly shows that time itself is only a medium through which we experience finite existence. The typical Indian thought of Advaita Vedanta converts the concept of time into a phenomenal verity. Within the realm of experience, Time is a factor to be counted. Our struggles and their accomplishment in the moral sphere require an actualisation in terms of time. But the moment we are able to rise to a pāramārthika standpoint Time ceases to be a limiting factor. In the Bhagavad-Gita Lord Sri Krishna, after granting Arjuna a vision of His Universal Form, answers Arjuna's bewildered questions—Who are you? What awful form is this?—by saying : 'Time am I, engaged in the making and destroying of worlds'. The emphasis on the temporal process constitutes the characteristic mark of certain forms of Theism. It is held that the Quest after Perfection involves a lifetime of striving and stages of inner ascent requiring time for their accomplishment. To the Vedantic monist the time process, while useful for the realisation of finite purposes, can be transcended at any point by the dawn of the noumenal vision.

17. The Living God : p 374.
18. God and the Astronomers p. 77.

The concept of Time is also at the basis of the notion of cause. Temporal succession is the essence of the causal idea. But the unsatisfactoriness of the causal explanation points to the fact that "the ultimate ground of any event must be sought in all the rest of reality.... (as) part of an intelligible coherent system".[19] According to Dean Inge Time is the arena in which any purpose is fulfilled or frustrated. But in our higher activities we vanquish time. Human beings have a footing in both worlds, the temporal and the eternal and so long as we mind earthly things we belong to the temporal order. But in so far as we have "our conversation in heaven we are eternal".[20] Hegel's words, "God is the eternal reality of which the world is the temporal expression",[21] express a fundamental truth. Admitting that the Supreme Reality is above Space and Time we nevertheless have to concede that whenever purpose is traced and wherever a process is concerned time is essential. Bergson over emphasized duration and made it appear that movement in itself is the essence of reality. In his hands the idea of time gets mixed up with values and "he tends to make time itself the warp and woof of reality instead of its being merely the framework in which events happen". All absolute values are everlasting. The world of becoming derives its meaning to the extent that it reflects the world of values.

Our consideration of the concepts of Progress, Evolution and Time leads us to the opposition between mechanism and teleology, which occupied the central position in the philosophical systems of of the 19th century, when the theory of Naturalism reached its highwater mark. As a result of the work of the scientists a mathematical explanation of the phenomenal universe became the most accepted view. All phenomena were explained in terms of mechanism. The growth of biological science side by side with physics and chemistry raised hopes that even life could be explained with the help of mechanical categories. Idealistic philosophy which reached its most triumphant formulation in the hands of Hegal and his followers enthroned the concept of teleology. While Teleology emphasized progress and purpose, mechanism emphasized the immutable laws of causation. In the event, attempts were made either to overthrow teleology, i.e., interpretation by purpose,

19 Ibid, p. 88.
20. Ibid p. 97.
21. Ibid p. 91.

as falsified by scientific evidence, or, in the alternative, attempts were made to interpret mechanism itself as an inherent teleology.

The place of man, the author of purpose, in the cosmic order may be considered in passing. Naturalistic Agnosticism, which was the fashion among the advanced intellectuals a few decades ago, tended to minimise the importance of man and to conceive of the cosmic process as a blind, unthinking advance of matter and its cosmic laws. Human life was considered by them, "An *infinitesimal speck on a tiny planet, in a system of planets* revolving round an insignificant star itself lost in a wilderness of other stars".[22] Life was regarded as an accident arising somehow from inert matter and assuming various forms through the working of chance variation and environment. The mind of man was regarded as a stray product evolved to help man in the struggle for existence, the world of nature being utterly indifferent to man's desires and dreams. Human life is but a brief episode in cosmic evolution, and man's existence will cease on Earth. This attitude is well-brought out by Bertrand Russell in his celebrated essay on 'A Free man's worship'. Describing the world which science presents for our belief, he says: "That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving, that his origin, his growth, his hopes and his fears, his loves and beliefs are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms....that all the labour of ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of, a universe in ruins—all these things are so nearly certain that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand". Joad expresses the same idea in these eloquent words:—"In the vast immensities of Astronomical space and Geolological time, life seemed a tiny glow, a feeble and uncertain flicker destined one day, when the heat of the sun had cooled to such an extent that the Earth was no longer able to support life, to be ignominiously snuffed out in the one corner of the universe which had known it".[23]

This attitude of triumphant materialism is no longer seriously held. Scientists themselves have begun to feel that the order of

22. Contemporary Indian Philosophy p. 261.
23. Joad: Philosophy for our times: p. 123.

nature can be understood and interpreted rightly only in terms of mind and spirit. The question is coming more and more into prominence whether there is not behind the phenomena of nature as well as the drama of human history an unseen spiritual power which makes the universe significant. The dictum of Professor Tyndall, in his Presidential Address to the British Association of Science, 'that the scientific tendency sees in matter the promise and potency of every form of life', has been completely reversed by the statement of Sir William Crookes, Tyndall's successor in the same chair, in the words, 'I see in life the promise and potency of all forms of matter'. A true explanation of the phenomena which Science studies needs an undestanding of the notion of purpose and value. Naturalistic Agnosticism which makes human life and its purpose a minor incident in a vast cosmic process of world-making and world-destroying. It deprives humanity of its sense of self-importance; the significance of the moral struggles, mental achievements and aesthetic values gets dwarfed into practical nothingness in the midst of the brute forces of nature. As against this position we see now that scientists are gradually coming to hold that an accurate understanding of the nature of experience takes us out of the world of matter, life and intelligence to a spiritual reality which expresses itself equally in the Supreme and the Individual and in the Universe. In the words of Radhakrishnan, "Matter, Life and consciousness are ideal constructions and when we are dealing with them we are dealing with phenomena and not with reality. The universe need not be broken up into a set of conflicting reals, called matter, life, consciousness and thought. They are not hard and fast divisions of reality but grades of experience. The truth of the universe is not a mathematical equation or kinematical system or a biological adjustment or a psychological pluralism or Ethical individualism but a spiritual organism".[24]

One explanation that has been suggested for the phenomena of the world-process has been the theory of Recurrent Cycles. This theory has been held by the ancient Greeks, and also by Hindu thought of the Puranic period. In answering the question of the relation of the present world-order to the infinite purposes of the Supreme, it is held that at each stage, the world order reflects the purposes of the Supreme in a fragmentary manner. The theory of recurrent cycles as held by the Greeks conceived that in period

24. Radhakrishnan: Idealist View of Life p. 311.

after period there will be an exact recurrence of events. As all events on earth are believed to follow the motions of the heavenly bodies, when they come back to the same positions, similar events are likely to take place. In criticising this theory, Dean Inge remarks that in our experience History resembles itself always but repeats itself never.[25] But he admits that the idea of a succession of world-orders has something to be said in its favour.

The Hindu Puranic Idea of Cosmic cycles conceives of repetition of events in large periods of time. This takes the form of the four Yugas, namely, Satya, Treta, Dvāpara and Kali Yugas. The various orders of creation are believed to pass through these cycles. But it is not to be conceived as an eternal merry-go-round, repeating identically the same events. On the contrary this cyclic evolution is to be understood in the nature of a spiral. While there is general resemblance in the features of the larger events, each particular age achieves an increasing fulfilment of higher purposes. Taking cosmic evolution from the larger point of view, each cycle of these vast periods adds to the stature of human attainment and God as the infinite purpose behind all creation fulfils himself in increasing degree. It is necessary to analyse our ideas of God in order that a proper interpretation of the concept of Progress may be possible.

There are four leading types of the God-Idea, namely, Deism, Pantheism, Theism and Monism. Of these, Deism is the least philosophical view. It conceives of God as being outside the Universe, the Universe being a complete unit by itself, which, having been created and set going, continues to work without any need of constant interference or attention by the Creator. This is expressed by the phrase—Deus ex machina—God outside the machine of the Universe. This conception over emphasizes the idea of the transcendence of God. The most celebrated expression of this Universe. This conception over emphasizes the idea of the transcendence of God. The most celebrated expression of this view can be seen in Aristotle's concept of the Prime Mover. Analysing the nature of physical phenomena we find that one motion is explained by another motion, and that other by a still earlier one. But we cannot have infinite regress. There must be a point at which the whole process was set going. That initial origin

25. God and the Astronomers p. 100.

is described by Aristotle as the Prime Mover. In the 18th century the rationalistic outlook, especially in Europe and particularly in France and England, emphasized the Deistic conception of God. Leibnitz propounded the Doctrine of Pre-established Harmony, according to which the whole universe is so constructed that its forms work out their purposes in a sure and certain way without any need of supervision or control. Distinguishing the universe into two orders, the order of matter and the order of spirit, he finds that both of them work in perfect concert. According to the Deistic view God is entirely a transcendent being who having created the machine of the universe and having set it going looks on with perfect confidence and unconcern.

The second formulation of the Idea of God is Pantheism which identifies God with the universe; the creator and the creation interpenetrate. Through all the forms and shapes that constitute the universe God can be felt and seen. The Universe is as necessary to God as God is necessary to the Universe. Pantheism over emphasizes the concept of Immanence. In its lower forms it degenerates into the acceptance and justification of all things that exist.[26] This is expressed by Pope's shallow phrase, whatever is, is right. Everything that happens is attributed to the agency of God. We are all divine automata. God becomes a collective name for the world of things. This doctrine of Pantheism received considerable support from the doctrine of the higher naturalism according to which the Universe in all its forms is the expression of God—This is Pan-cosmism. Further emphasis to this conception was given by the Philosophies of Bergson and Alexander. In the hands of Bergson the Pantheistic creed receives a new importance in that the process of Evolution itself is creative, the cosmos becomes the externalisation of the vital force which may be regarded as God. In the hands of Alexander, the primordial matrix of Space-Time, which is the stuff of the Universe, owing to the impulsion of a nisus or drive from within, throws up out of itself Deity as the latest emergent. God is thus identified with the Universe. Dean Inge points out that the ultimate fate of such a God is to die because the Universe with which God is identified is itself running down to its end. An emerging, evolving, improving God is no God at all.[27]

26. God and the Astronomers p. 9.
27. Pringle-Pattison: Idea of God. p. 253.

The chief difficulty that arises if we accept the position of Pantheism is the problem of evil and suffering. If God is identified with the world and we see him at work in the laboratory of the cosmos, the existence of evil seems to imply an imperfection in God Himself. We cannot adopt Leibnitz's theory of Optimism, that this is the best of all possible worlds. If God is the Supreme Being and has created the Universe to express his nature, how is it that evil exists ? Is God's power so limited that he cannot fashion a universe without suffering and evil. Pantheism instead of expressing God in the world, really imprisons Him in the Universe.

We shall next consider the Theistic interpretation of the God-Idea. Theism acts as a corrective to the extremes of Deism and Pantheism. While Deism banishes God from the Universe, while Pantheism imprisons God by identifying Him with the Universe, Theism conceives of God as informing the Universe from within while at the same time ordering and controlling it from without. That is, God is both immanent and transcendent. While He is expressed by the world, He is more than the world. This idea is best brought out by the words of the dying Emile Bronte :—

> "Though earth and man were gone
> And suns and universes cease to be
> And Thou wert left alone
> Every existent would exist in Thee".[28]

This can be expressed by saying that though everything that we learn about nature teaches us something about God, there is much more involved in the idea of God. In the words of Dean Inge, "Though we live and move and have our being in God, He is immeasurably above us. God is both in us and out of us".[29] The most important forms of the theistic conception are found in Christian theism, in Ramanujacharya's theory and in the Bhagavad-Gita. The central idea of Christian theism is the personality of God. The highest religious conception requires an experience of a personal relationship. Archbishop Temple defines Theism 'as the adoption of the hypothesis that the ultimate ground of the universe is a will fulfilling a purpose which commends itself to our mind

28. God and the Astronomers p 16.
29. Ibid 1, 6, 76, 247.

as good".[30] Bishop Barnes in his Gifford Lectures on Scientific Theory and Religion (p. 650) states: "We must assume that God and His creatures alike have 'a certain fundamental relation to the temporal process of the world's evolution'. It is difficult to see how, therefore, God can be static, changeless and perfect. Doubtless absolute perfection and activity can be conjoined. But, on the Christian view, the temporal process leads to an enrichment of God's Kingdom, and therefore presumably to an enrichment of his own Being". "Theism implies that beyond the many subjects of experience, there is one transcendent subject who comprehends the whole. The active immanent presence of one Supreme Spirit who knows all is an assurance that the interconnection of the many is itself a unity and thus offers such a solution as is possible of the problem of the unity and multiplicity of existence".[31]

Dean Inge defines Theism as the doctrine that the ultimate ground of the universe is a single Supreme Being who is perfect in Himself.[32] This definition excludes the many gods of Paganism and polytheism, all forms of dualism and pluralism, such as those which make God a President of a society of equals. Also theism cannot find room for a limited non-omnipotent God.

Ramanuja is the greatest theist. In his philosophical system of Viśiṣṭa Advaita we get the formulation of a theistic theory which attempts to give us intellectual satisfaction while at the same time providing for the realisation of religious feeling. He combines in as successful a manner as has been possible the perfection of the Absolute with the richness of content of a Personal Being. He holds that the whole universe of matter and individual souls have God as their pervader and ruler. This he is able to achieve by reconciling transcendence with immanence. The immanence of God is emphasized when matter and souls are regarded as the body of God. Transcendence is emphasized when the Supreme is said to be endless being, infinite reality. God is not exhausted by the world and souls. Though He is immense in His Cosmic glory, God out of his grace dwells in the heart of the world and the souls as their inner ruler immortal. As personal he gives scope for all the needs of the human souls, and as absolutely perfect he is the repository of all being and is the Ultimate Reality.

30. Contemporary Birtish Philosophy p. 418.
31. Scientific Theory and Religion p. 649-650.
32. God and the Astronomers p. 217.

In the Bhagavad-Gita we have another formulation of the God-Idea as the Supreme Personality of the Universe. He is the author of the laws of rhythm of the cosmos. He is also the ensouling principle underlying all manifestation. He is the guide and helper of souls in their struggles towards perfection. All aspects of theism are fulfilled in this high conception.

The fourth interpretation of the God-Idea is monism. According to this view there is one Supreme Reality who is generally called the Absolute or Brahman. There is no other in the Universe. This Supreme Reality is the Ultimate Truth, the one and only life. All the world of manifestation, the apparent multiplicity of souls, the forms and shapes of the whole cosmos are ensouled by this one life. In contrast to the theistic interpretation this view conceives of the supreme as super-personal, the embodiment of all perfections but incapable of being described by any concepts of the understanding which are limited by their very nature. The greatest mystics in their deepest experiences contact this Reality but when they try to measure out their realisation with the counters of the mind they fail miserably; for the Ineffable and the Immediate is the negation of all appearance and plurality and is pure unity. Śaṅkara, the greatest monistic thinker, explains that the nearest positive description of the Supreme Reality can be given by speaking of It as Sat, chit, ānanda—Reality Awareness, Bliss. The Upanishads in immortal poetry describe the Ineffable in a series of negatives. But the negatives are not meant to deny the reality of Brahman. They only serve to make us realise that the attempt to encompass the Brahman by thought relations, by the terms used in the realm of experience, utterly fails to express the nature of the Absolute. *Yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha* (=whence speech turns back, not having attained, along with the mind). *Nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo, na medhayā na bahunā śrutena* (=this supreme self is not attainable, neither by speech, nor by intelligence, nor by many scriptures). The quality-less-ness attributed is meant to convey the trans empirical nature of the Only Real.

All Absolute Idealists have postulated this ultimate category of intellectual effort in similar terms. Plato's Form of the Good is the Absolute of his philosophical construction. It is the source of all reality and its nature can never be exhausted however much our knowledge might increase. It is an unexhausted mystery. Socrates in the Platonic dialogue confesses himself not able to speak of the Form of the Good except negatively, because

every predicate affirmed of it does it injustice by limiting the Form of the Good to a particular aspect of it. Here we touch a level of realisation which every absolutist affirms in trying to describe the ultimate of all experience. Spinoza's declaration that all determination is negation, the Advaita description of Brahman as one who can only be specified as 'not this', 'not this', the Hegelian Spirit, the Bradleyan Real, which cannot be the subject of relational consciousness, the Neo-Platonic one, and Eckhart's Godhead—all these are the living testimony to the incapacity of the human mind to encompass the ineffable mystery of Ultimate Reality.

The late Rev. Soderblom, the noted religious thinker, distinguishes the two positions of Theism and Monism from the standpoint of the different methods of mystic realisation, as via positiva and via negativa respectively. "If the divine can be determined only by eliminating all that is not God we reach at last something impersonal, negative. Even then, to be sure, man can perceive something of the power of the Eternal; but he comprehends nothing, and a religious dogma of that kind in a Śaṅkara or others is shy of the symbol of personality. At best it is regarded as a lower conception, necessary for the crowd, and perchance for the enlightened also when he is in need of divine help. Via negationis points to an impersonal conception of God. In the positive way of salvation, on the other hand, God is active, man is receptive. He is led on from one state to another, or rather, in the fellowship of God his distinctions are lost....It is the bliss of divine fellowship when the soul obtains an inkling of faith in sight, a time when God visits the soul with His Grace".[33]

The central idea of the monistic conception is the assertion of the identity of the Ātman with Brahman. The Ātman which is the spirit ensouling the individual is in its real nature identical with Brahman which is the principle ensouling God. This has been expressed in various ways in the Upanishads. One comparison is given in the Mundakopanishad:—

Dvā suparnā sayiyā sahāyā
Samānam vṛkṣam parisasvajāte
Tayoranyaḥ pippalam svādvatti
Anaśnan anyo abhicākaśīti.

33. Soderblom: The Living God p. 79-80.

"Two birds of fair plumage, ever associated and intimate, cling to the same tree. Of these, one eats the tasteful fruit, while the other, untasting, looks on". In this beautiful symbolism, the supreme spirit and the individual soul are spoken of as two companions; one of them, the Soul, eats of the fruit of experience, entering the manifested universe, while the other, the Supreme looks on, without entering into the empirical world. This is the relation of the Individual to the Supreme.

The right interpretation of the nature of all things according to the monistic conception is given by the profound teacher whom we meet in the Upanishads, Yājñavalkya in reply to his wife, Maitreyī. Quoting from Soderblom's account, "Even in the great thinker and priest, Yājñavalkya, whom we meet in one of the two most venerable upanishads, the propounder of the Ātman-evangel, the doctrine of the world-soul, Atman, exhibits something of a personal warmth and affection, when he speaks of the all-embracing Universal Being or Essence....His wife asked him about immortality.

"Maitreyi" said Yājñavalkya, "lo, verily, I am about to go forth from this state. Behold, let me make a final settlement for you and Kātyāyani".

'Then said Maitreyī, "If now, Sir, this whole earth filled with wealth were mine, would I be immortal thereby?"

' "No," said Yājñavalkya, "as the life of the rich, even so would your life be; of immortality, however, there is no hope through wealth".

'Then said Maitreyī: "What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal? What you know, Sir, that indeed tell me".

'Then said Yājñavalkya, "Ah dear, dear as you are to us, dear is what you say. Come, sit down, I will explain to you. But while I am expounding, do you seek to ponder thereon".

Then said he: "Lo, veirly, not for love of the husband is a husband dear, but for the love of the self is a husband dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of wife is a wife dear, but for love of the self is a wife dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of sons are sons dear, but for love of the self are sons dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of Brahmanhood is Brahmanhood dear, but for love of the self is Brahmanhood dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of Kshatrahood is Kshatrahood dear, but for love of the self is Kshatrahood dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of the worlds are the worlds dear, but for love of the self are the worlds dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of the Gods are the Gods dear but for love of the self are the Gods dear"

"Lo, verily, not for love of beings are beings dear, but for love of the self are beings dear".

"Lo, verily, not for love of all is all dear, but for the love of the self is all dear".

"Lo, verily, it is the self (Ātman) that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be thought on, that should be pondered on, O, Maitreyī. Lo, verily, with the seeing of, with the hearkening to, with the thinking of, and with the understanding of the self, this world-all is known".

(*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad* II. 4. 1-5)

This remarkable passage which may be termed the beatitudes of the monistic religion, makes clear that all things of value in the universe—husband, wife, sons, wealth, Brahmanhood, Ksatrahood, the worlds, the gods, orders of beings—are to be esteemed not for themselves but as means of revealing and realising the self—the Supreme Spirit. With the seeing and realising of the self everything is known.

Such a postulation of the only Real has to be seen in its relation to the world of manifestation. What relation does the phenomenal, universe bear to the only Real? Bradley and Śaṅkara, in explaining this relation, put forward the theory of degrees of reality. While the Absolute is the ultimate reality, there is a lower order of relative reality in which the cosmic process of worlds, souls, evolution, struggle, time, space, causation, takes place. To function as the ordering principle of this phenomenal realm, the Absolute takes on the form of Īs'vara or Saguṇa Brahman. "The pure, simple, self-subsistent. Absolute becomes the personal Lord, the principle of being in the universe binding all things to each other in binding them to himself....Īs'vara is

thus the mediating principle between Brahman and the universe, partaking of the nature of both".[34]

The main question at issue between the theistic interpretation of God and the monistic conception arises here. The theist is not satisfied with anything less than the Absolute, but at the same time the very essence of theism requires the Absolute to take on the lineaments of a personal being, who embodies in himself all the perfections of Will, Wisdom and Activity, in order that the *finite individuals may taste the joys of communion and receive the* Grace of the Lord, the Supreme Personality. All theistic thinkers are agreed that the highest that human experience points to is the ideal of personality. But the monist is quite definite that the Absolute spirit cannot be limited to a person. "Since personality cannot be realised except under the limiting conditions of a non-ego, the Absolute is not a person". "A personal God is not the *ultimate truth about the universe, and in that ultimate truth would* be included and superseded by something higher than personality.[35] "Personality is a symbol, and if we ignore its symbolical character, it is likely to shut us from the truth". "God is a symbol in which Religion cognizes the Absolute".[36] As against these statements, theistic thinkers are quite positive that the indeterminate Absolute cannot fulfil the needs of religion. To refuse to the "fontal life of God that giving *of himself and finding of himself in others,* which we recognise as perfection and fruition of human life"[37] would be to degrade the Absolute under pretence of exalting it. So in the conviction that the greatest idea of the Divine Being consists in a perpetual giving of himself, a sharing of the life of the finite creatures bearing the burden of their fortitude, the Absolute of the *metaphysician is transformed into the God of religion.*

This well-marked opposition of views between the theist and monist is reconciled in a striking manner by our distinguished Indian leader of thought, Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The highest metaphysics and the *noblest religion* both demand an Absolute Spiritual Reality as the Ultimate Truth. This Absolute is interpreted as a personal God so far as its relation to the empirical world is concerned. The Supreme is Absolute in and for itself.

34. Radhakrishnan: Indian Philosophy Vol. II p. 531.
35. Radhakrishnan: Indian Philosophy: Vol. II p. 536.
36. Radhakrishnan: Idealist View of Life p. 108.
37. Bradley: Essays on Truth and Reality p. 432.

It is God in relation to the Universe. A view like this which does not make God an illusion but an actualisation with reference to this particular world-order, is a more adequate hypothesis than that which looks upon such a God as Ultimate Reality. Theistic writers are obliged by intellectual consistency to confer the metaphysical status of the Absolute on the Supreme, though they are anxious to call it God to fulfil the needs of religion. "While God is organically bound up with the Universe, the Absolute is not. The world of pure being is not exhausted by the cosmic process, which is only one of the ways in which the Absolute Reality which transcends the series reveals itself. This Universe is for the Absolute only one possibility....We call the Supreme the Absolute when we view it apart from the Cosmos, God in relation to the Cosmos".[38]

This brief examination of the four typical formulations of the God-Idea reveals an increasing spiritualisation of the concept of God. The Deist when he bows down before the extra cosmic God feels towards the Divine as towards the spectator of all existence, the perfect Designer and Architect, who looks on the struggle of individual souls in the foils of samsāra, perfectly confident that the law will work itself out. The pantheist, on the other hand, feels an intimate connection between the fate of the world and the purpose of God. God's work itself will be incomplete if the fortunes of the world-process and of the souls do not reach fruition. The theist postulates a God-idea wherein the world is necessary to God but God is more than the world. The time-process, the phenomenal order of things derive their help from God who takes a kindly interest in the struggle below and is ever ready to come to the help of individual souls in his grace and redemptive power. The monist postulates the one Absolute Reality, which is the basis of all reality, from whom everything in the universe derives its power and to whom everything returns when the finite purposes of creation are worked out in this theatre of space and time.

The idea of Progress and Purpose as interpreted by the *four* typical formulations of the Idea of God reveals characteristic differences. According to the Deistic conception, progress becomes the working out of the world-machine according to the principles of its construction in a blind mechanical manner. Human life, higher values, the play of freewill and indeterminacy—all lose their

38. Idealist View of Life, p. 343, 345.

significance. The plan of God as set going by Him at the beginning remorselessly works itself out. According to the Pantheistic position, the Universe is the fullest expression of God, who is immanent in it. Everything that exists and everything that happens is filled through and through with God. This view results in erecting Progress and Evolution in time as supremely important categories. The imperfections of the world are directly traced to God and in the hands of a biological philosopher like Herbert Spencer or Bergson and in the hands of Alexander and the Neo-Realists, the world-fact helps in understanding the Divine to such an extent as to think of God as an evolving, emerging, growing principle, whose destiny is involved with the Universe.

According to the theistic conception Progress is due to the Will of God and depends on his goodness and grace. The purpose of the cosmic process is to enable human individuals to be redeemed from sin and the suffering of the world by God's power. The world-process is real and takes place in time, while God who reveals his power inside it, is also far above the world. There is a real distinction between the might and majesty of God and this world of manifestation.

According to the monistic interpretation, the Universe, the cosmic process, this world with its various orders of nature, are all phenomena which have their ultimate reality in the Supreme Spirit. Human life reflects the Supreme. The ultimate identity of the individual and the Supreme is a cardinal truth. Progress is simply the descriptive term by which the increasing realisation of the supreme spirit by the individual is conceived. The purpose of the universe and the orders of evolution consists in achieving this realisation of identity.

Of these four conceptions we see in the monistic formulation the highest power of suggestiveness. Progress and Purpose can be interpreted in the light of this conception, as the power that underlies all the names and forms of the universe to work out their fulfilment in an increasing spiritualisation. A spiritual principle is one which enables any individual or thing to draw from itself more than it contains and to give more than it has by its greater efficiency in linking itself with the Supreme Life.[39] "The generous self-giving of the Absolute is the meaning of the

39. Cf. Macnicol: Indian Theism p. 231 quoting Bergson.

cosmic process".[40] Each individual jiva, each member of the various orders of existence can open up its channel for the life of all to express itself into greater and greater perfection. This is the only progress and this is the purpose of the universe. From the Lord of creation to the smallest ant crawling on earth all forms and shapes are the expression of the One Life. Tagore has expressed this vision of Unity as follows:—

The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures.

It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers.

It is the same life that is rocked in the ocean cradle of birth and death, in ebb and flow.

I feel my limbs are made glorious by the touch of this world of life. And my pride is from the life-throb of ages dancing in my blood this moment.

(*Gitanjali No.* 69)

This first lecture has in a brief form reviewed the ideas of Progress, Evolution and Time, proceeded to analyse the Idea of God with a view to see if it throws any light on the subject of our study. We have come to the idea of increasing spiritualisation as the key to the whole subject. In the second lecture we shall start with a glance at the progress of humanity and the course of human civilisation through the Ages and see if this key idea is fulfilled in historical development. In this connection reference will be made to the Hindu idea of cosmic and human evolution, the phenomenon of genius will be studied and the deification of human life analysed, through the achievement of Buddhahood and Christhood. After a reference to the theory of incarnations and the ascent of man we shall end with a reinterpretation of the theme of these lectures.

(*To be continued*)

40. Radhakrishnan: Idealist View of Life.

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